

# East Texas Historical Journal

---

Volume 46 | Issue 2

Article 1

---

10-2008

ETHJ Vol-46 No-2

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

Tell us how this article helped you.

---

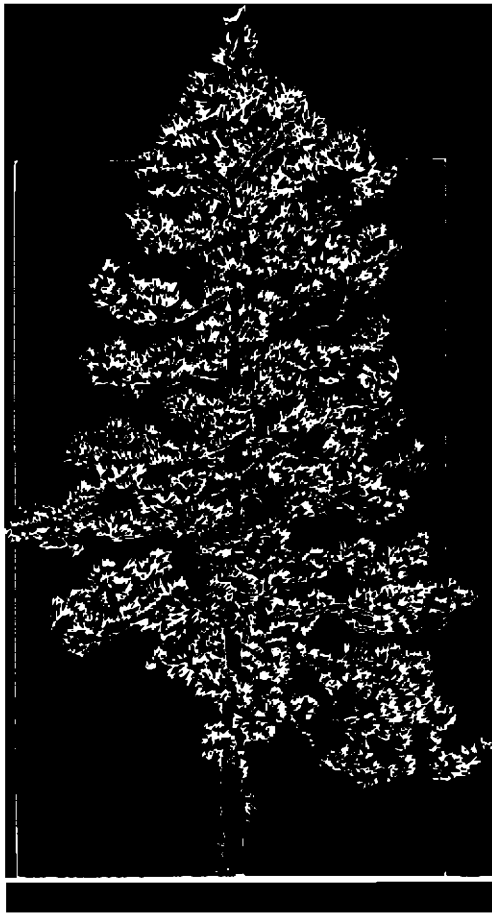
## Recommended Citation

(2008) "ETHJ Vol-46 No-2," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 46: Iss. 2, Article 1.

Available at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol46/iss2/1>

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in East Texas Historical Journal by an authorized administrator of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu](mailto:cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu).

F  
381  
E2



---

# EAST TEXAS

---

# HISTORICAL JOURNAL

---

# EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## 2007-2008 OFFICERS

Beverly J. Rowe .....	President
Ted Lawe .....	First Vice President
Doris Bowman .....	Second Vice President
Portia L. Gordon .....	Secretary-Treasurer

## DIRECTORS

Bill O'Neal .....	Carthage	2008
Jo Ann Stiles .....	Beaumont	2008
Jeffrey Owens .....	Tyler	2008
Caroline Castillo Crimm .....	Huntsville	2009
John Olgesbee .....	San Augustine	2009
Kenneth W. Howell .....	College Station	2009
Tom Crum .....	Granbury	2010
Ricky F. Dobbs .....	Commerce	2010
L. Patrick Hughes .....	Austin	2010
R.G. Dean .....	Nacogdoches	ex-President
Dan K. Utley .....	Pflugerville	ex-President

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Patrick Cox .....	Wimberly
Ken Hendrickson .....	Wichita Falls
Ken Howell .....	Bryan
L. Patrick Hughes .....	Austin
Linda S. Hudson .....	Carthage
Sarah Jackson .....	Nacogdoches
Mary Kelley .....	Beaumont
Jim Maroney .....	Baytown
Bob Bowman .....	Lufkin
Jim Smallwood .....	Gainesville
Dan K. Utley .....	Pflugerville
Milton Jordan .....	Houston

M. Scott Sosebee  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND EDITOR

## MEMBERSHIP

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS pay \$100 annually  
LIFE MEMBERS pay \$300 or more  
BENEFACTOR pays \$100, PATRON pays \$50 annually  
STUDENT MEMBERS pay \$12 annually  
FAMILY MEMBERS pay \$35 annually  
REGULAR MEMBERS pay \$25 annually  
Journals \$7.50 per copy

P.O. Box 6223  
Stephen F. Austin State University  
Nacogdoches, TX 75962  
936-468-2407  
e-mail: [sosebeam@sfasu.edu](mailto:sosebeam@sfasu.edu)  
<http://www.easttexashistorical.org>

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Volume XLVI

2008

NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

STEVE ALLEN NEVER PICKED COTTON IN TEXAS  
*By Dan K. Utley* ..... 3

“BUILT BY THE IRISHMAN, THE NEGRO AND THE MULE:”  
LABOR MILITANCY ACROSS THE COLOR LINE IN  
POST-RECONSTRUCTION TEXAS  
*By Robert S. Shelton* .....15

RACIAL POLITICS IN DALLAS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY  
*By Theodore M. Lawe* .....27

THE CHIRINO BOYS: SPANISH SOLDIER-PIONEERS FROM  
LOS ADAES ON THE LOUISIANA-TEXAS  
BORDERLANDS, 1735-1792  
*By Francis X. Galán* .....42

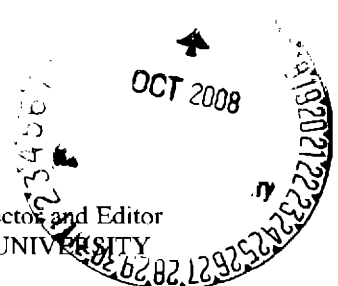
DAN UTLEY NEVER PICKED COTTON  
*By Archie P. McDonald* .....59

EAST TEXAS NEWS AND NOTES .....65  
*By M. Scott Sosebee*

BOOK NOTES  
*By Archie P. McDonald* .....67

BOOK REVIEWS .....71

M. Scott Sosebee, Executive Director and Editor  
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY  
P.O. BOX 6223  
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962  
936-468-2407  
e-mail: [sosebeem@sfasu.edu](mailto:sosebeem@sfasu.edu)  
<http://www.easttxashistorical.org>



### BOOKS REVIEWED

- Cantrell/Turner, *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* by Caroline C. Crimm
- Bright, *Native American Placenames of the United States* by Fred Tarpley
- Wagner, *It Happened on the Underground Railroad* by Gail K Beil
- Galland, *Love Cemetery: Unburying the Secret History of Slaves* by Bruce A. Glasrud
- Crawford/Crawford, *The Settlers of Lovely County and Miller County Arkansas Territory, 1820-1830* by Jim D. Lovett
- Dougherty, *Civil War Leadership and Mexican War Experience* by Charles D. Grear
- Reynolds, *Texas Terror: The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860 and the Secession of the Lower South* by John H. Barnhill
- Baker, *Confederate Guerrilla: The Civil War Memoir of Joseph Bailey* by Kenneth W. Howell
- Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* by John D. Huddleston
- Monday/Vick, *Petra's Legacy: The South Texas Ranching Empire of Petra Vela and Mifflin Kenedy* by Henry Wolff, Jr.
- Glasrud/Searles, *Buffalo Soldiers in the West: A Black Soldiers Anthology* by Kenneth W. Howell
- Johnson, *Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845 to 1858* by John W. Storey
- Evans, *Bound in Twine: The History and Ecology of the Henequen-Wheat Complex for Mexico and the American and Canadian Plains, 1880-1950* by John R. Lundberg
- Baker, *American Windmills: An Album of Historic Photographs* by Michael R. Bryant
- Reid, *Reaping a Greater Harvest: African Americans, The Extension Service and Rural Reform in Jim Crow Texas* by Jane Manaster
- McDonald, *By Early Candlelight: The Story of Old Milam* by George R. Franks, Jr.
- Carlson, *Deep Time and the Texas High Plains: History and Geology* by F.E. Abernethy
- Carmack, *Historic Hotels of Texas: A Traveler's Guide* by Dan K. Utley
- Blodgett/Blodgett/Scott, *The Land, The Law, and The Lord: The Life of Pat Neff* by Gene B. Preuss
- Ferguson, *Historic Battleship Texas: The Last Dreadnought* by J. Edward Townes
- Cohen II, *Kindler of Souls: Rabbi Henry Cohen of Texas* by Gail K Beil
- Cochran, *Claytie: The Roller-Coaster Life of a Texas Wildcatter* by Jorge Ibrer
- Olicn/Hinton, *Wildcatters: Texas Independent Oilmen* by Jo Ann Stiles
- Alexander, *Spoke: A Biography of Tris Speaker* by Bill O'Neal
- Nevels, *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness Through Racial Violence* by Gary Borders
- Nolan, *The Billy The Kid Reader* by Jeff Bremer
- Utley, *Lone Star Lawmen: The Second Century of the Texas Rangers* by Robert Nieman

## STEVE ALLEN NEVER PICKED COTTON IN TEXAS

*By Dan K. Utley*

**Editor's Note:** The following was Dan Utley's presidential address at the 2007 fall meeting of the ETHA. As you will read, Dan was unable to actually deliver the address and it was read by his friend and ETHA member Cynthia Beeman.

**Author's Note:** A funny thing happened on the way to Nacogdoches. As my wife, Debby, and I prepared to leave Pflugerville for the East Texas Historical Association Fall meeting, I began experiencing sustained abdominal pain. By that evening it was evident I would have to make a detour to a local hospital for relief. Avoiding unnecessary details, I will only say that while Tony Bennett may well have left his heart in San Francisco, I chose to leave my gall bladder in Round Rock. Thankfully, my dear friend and respected colleague Cynthia J. Beeman capably delivered my presidential paper at the conference. Meanwhile, back in Round Rock, a remarkable surgical team led by Dr. Jack L. Walzel, by coincidence the descendant of a Texas family who picked cotton, worked diligently and successfully to provide me with another chance. They are, quite simply, the best of their professions, and I am thankful to have been in their capable care.

Unfortunately, I had no choice in how the final days of my ETHA presidency played out, but fortunately there were many who moved quickly to cover my assigned tasks and ensure the conference went on as planned. Foremost among those who stepped into the breach was Vice President Dr. Beverly Rowe, who unselfishly and without hesitation provided a steady transition in an unprecedented situation. That is what good leaders do. My thanks also to the members of the ETHA board for their understanding and support. And, as always, I remain indebted to my friends Dr. Archie McDonald and Mrs. Portia Gordon – the ultimate ETHA team – for their support, concern, hard work, patience, and humor.

As I recovered from surgery, Archie called to check on me and to report on the success of the conference. He also requested I provide a copy of my talk for publication in the *ETHA Journal*, although at the time I must admit I wasn't quite sure which of us might still be groggy from general anesthesia. Nevertheless, he prevailed, and so I hereby offer my paper – written by me back when I still had gall.

Festus and Mabel. Sounds like a lost episode of Gunsmoke or maybe a California folk music duo from the 1960s. Festus and Mabel. Perhaps a Martin Scorsese film of life along the Brooklyn waterfront or a Willa Cather novel about a young girl coming of age in Festus, Missouri. Festus and Mabel, though – more precisely Festus John, Jr. and Blanche Mabel Prater Utley – were my parents. Both grew up on cotton farms in Bell County, Texas, and they lived their early lives only about a dozen miles apart along the blackland prairie in the central part of the state. Festus John Utley, Sr., who came to Texas as a young man from North Carolina seeking unspoiled farmland and economic opportunity, died a young man, the result of complications from a farming accident on his land. My father, only a year old when his father died,

---

*Dan K. Utley is a past president of the East Texas Historical Association, retired from the Texas Historical Commission, and lives in Pflugerville.*

grew up picking cotton, but his mother eventually turned the homeplace over to sharecroppers and moved into the big city of Belton. As a result, my father was soon able to put his cotton picking past behind him.

My mother, however, was another story, and it is her influence that sets the personal context for this paper. To her, cotton picking was something akin to a Marine Corps boot camp. It was the touchstone of her youth, and it influenced her work ethic throughout her life in interesting ways. It was an integral means by which she measured one's character or values, as well as a job's degree of difficulty. To her, those who had picked cotton were automatically part of an undefined but universal fraternal organization, and they had successfully passed the initiation – no password necessary.

Festus and Mabel married in 1937 and eventually made their way the following decade to the East Texas town of Lufkin, where I was born. Although I didn't have an opportunity to pick cotton, I grew up taking on other jobs. I ran a printing press, sacked groceries, worked on a hay baling crew, hauled honey bees, fixed flats in a gas station, poisoned trees in the Tyler County swamps around Hillister, and even worked one day in a window factory – but that's another story. The bottom line is that no matter how hard I worked or how exhausting or dangerous my work was, it never quite measured up in my mother's mind to picking cotton. I was never allowed into the fraternity. I didn't know the password. I never made it to the initiation.

One day when she and I were having a discussion about something I thought was funny, but which she did not – a situation I often find myself facing with other folks to this day – I told her I had seen a television interview with Steve Allen wherein he stated there was humor in everything. To me, this was a brilliant comeback. Steve Allen was, in my mind, something of a Renaissance man of the post-World War II era – a late night television pioneer, musician, comedian, writer, philosopher, conversationalist, and would-be actor – and I quoted him often. In this case, though, the argument failed. Seemingly without concern for logic, Mother simply replied, "Well, if Steve Allen thinks everything is funny, one thing's for sure: he never picked cotton in Texas." Game, set, and match. I had no comeback for that. Steve Allen had no comeback for that. But I remember thinking that if I was ever fortunate enough to be president of a prestigious historical organization, I could at least use the line as a title for my presidential paper. And so here we are.

From that discussion with my mother, most likely somewhere in the 1970s, the story moves forward to 1991. She had passed away two years earlier, and I found myself sitting in Temple at the home of her sister, Ganelle Prater Moore, talking over the kitchen table about, once again, picking cotton. I had only recently joined the staff of the Baylor University Institute for Oral History and was planning to develop a research project dealing with life on Texas cotton farms in the Burton area of Washington County. So, I interviewed both Mother's brother and sister for general background. More on the brother later. When my conversation with Aunt Ganelle turned to the inevitable question of which family member picked the most cotton, she told me the oldest

sister, Bernice, was by far the best. Then I asked what I thought was the legitimate and logical follow-up question: "Was Mother a good cotton picker?" Aunt Ganelle stared at me for an instant and then started to laugh, and the laughter intensified, and as she continued to laugh, tears came to her eyes. As she took off her glasses to wipe them away, she said, "Dan, nobody tried harder to avoid picking cotton than your mother."<sup>1</sup>

The truth was out! My mother, the great gatekeeper of the secret order of the cotton picker, in fact spent most of her early field time trying to sneak away from the Bell County cotton patch that would eventually come to identify her own personal work ethic – and mine. While Mother was understandably evasive about that part of her life, she was apparently right about Steve Allen. Nowhere in his autobiography, *Hi Ho, Steverino!*, does he mention spending time in a Texas cotton patch.<sup>2</sup> But, the Allen theory of humor in all circumstances nonetheless held true. As I would find out as I conducted oral histories on cotton farming there was, indeed, humor in the patch. It was, in fact, pervasive, and it percolated through memories time and time again.

That is not to say work in the cotton patch was fun; it was not. It was stoop labor that required field hands to work virtually non-stop from sunup to sundown – or in the farming vernacular, "from can see to can't." The work was tedious, demanding, grueling, mind-numbing, monotonous and relentless, but it also put food on the table. There were the dangers of an unrelenting sun, of dehydration, poisonous snakes, stinging and biting insects, stinging vegetation, and the poisons used against the boll weevil. And, for those pickers who failed to contribute their fair share to the cause, there was swift punishment from the field supervisor, quite often a mother or grandmother.

But through it all, there was also the inevitable humor that somehow evolved from such seeming adversity. Now, to be sure, cotton patch humor is subtle. It is not like the story I heard about a young couple who left the rat race of Houston and traveled up U.S. 59 to Angelina County for the purpose of developing a cotton farm in the Neches River bottoms. According to the story, they worked hard to till up their half-acre and then dutifully planted 500 sterilized cotton balls they bought at a local drugstore. After a couple of weeks they came to the sad conclusion their crop had failed, and believing they had not adequately irrigated their field, they dug the soil once again and planted another 500 balls of cotton. This time they watered faithfully every evening, but the results were the same. No cotton plants; not one. Sensing they needed professional help, they drafted a long letter detailing their predicament and mailed it off to specialists at a well-known agricultural college. Two weeks later came the following reply: "It's difficult to tell from your letter what the exact nature of the problem could be. We're going to need a soil sample."

No, cotton patch humor is much more subtle – and hopefully funnier – than that apocryphal story. It is borne of the harsh realities and gamblers' trade of agrarian life. I have been collecting farming oral histories for over twenty years now, and wherever I have collected them, from the lower Trinity to the middle Colorado and from the rocky soils of the Panhandle to the blackland



prairies of Washington County, there are the unmistakable and universal rhythms of humor. Without exception, those brought up in the cotton culture have never forgotten the intensity of the labor, the uncertainties of markets and weather, or the common struggles of communities and families, and most have kept all that in a healthy perspective over the years. But they have also preserved the humor that comes from daily events. As Steve Allen so accurately observed, "Nothing is better than the unintended humor of reality."<sup>3</sup>

A good example of a cotton patch humorist was Grover Williams, an African-American farmer who lives outside Burton in Washington County. Williams grew up in the bottomlands of Yegua Creek, a stream known for unpredictable and widespread floods in the days before the impounding of Lake Somerville. The community of his youth was Flat Prairie, a place considered a land of lost cause soil and secondary to the preferred blacklands of the surrounding uplands. Farmers in Flat Prairie were considered by others to be the poorest of the poor, and one German-American farmer I interviewed noted, "When Mr. Jackrabbit went down to Flat Prairie, he packed a sandwich."<sup>4</sup>

Grover Williams is a remarkable man. He grew up in the segregated South but learned to accommodate all kinds of situations. He understood the system and how the system worked, and he made it work for him; it was his chosen method of survival. When he graduated from school he joined the U.S. Air Force and served in England, then returned to Texas to make a good living in the Houston industry before retiring to a farm in Washington County. He has a strong sense of place, both historical and personal.

Williams grew up without his mother, who died when he was a child, the result of a fall from a cotton wagon, and so he came to regard his grandmother as his mom. As a young man he was known as "Bristler," because of his tendency to "bristle up" on occasion like a cur dog. As a young cotton picker, he learned to observe keenly the cultural landscape surrounding him. Take, for example, what I recall his story of the educated cousin. The Williams family picked cotton over a wide part of western Washington County, and from the meager funds they collected they systematically set aside money for education, which they saw as a means out of the cotton patch for future generations. But they lacked the money to send all the children to college, so they in effect "invested" in Grover Williams' cousin, Ruth Carter, a good student considered likely to succeed. When she graduated from high school, the family sent her off to Tillotson College in Austin. When she returned in the summer she worked in the fields alongside the other family members, although she had fewer responsibilities.

Since Carter represented the family's investment, she received special treatment to protect her from the harsh Texas sun. She wore a long sleeve dress that reached to the ground, gloves that went to her elbows, and a long barrel bonnet that left only a tiny part of her face visible – even when she was looking directly at you. Her remaining exposed flesh was smeared with an oil-based cream that was both black and white, giving her a zebra-like appearance. Thinking back on her unique countenance, Grover Williams recalled, "I didn't

know, during that time, nothing else to compare her with ... I thought that's the way college girls looked."<sup>5</sup>

And speaking of bonnets, Williams learned at an early age to read the meaning of their subtle directional nuances like an aviator reads a windsock. His grandmother was the field boss, and she was strict. Unlike others in that capacity, she never allowed her charges to get on their knees to pick cotton. The Williams family always picked standing up. When Williams would protest, crying out "Mama, my back's hurting," the reply was most often, "Boy, you don't have a back, you just got a gristle." He knew better than to say his gristle was hurting. So, instead, he learned to lock in on the bonnet and follow its direction, even in his peripheral vision. His grandmother was most often ahead of him, so when her bonnet would turn away he would drop to his knees and pick as long as he could. But when the bonnet would swing back in his direction he knew to snap to his feet or face the standard cotton patch punishment, which was designed to be swift, sure, stealthy, and startling – the agricultural equivalent of "shock and awe."

A good field boss knew how to take advantage of the agrarian landscape when meting out punishment to lazy hands, using whatever was available – cotton stalks, dirt clods, green cotton bolls, a hoe handle – to make a point. Williams' brother, Alonzo (nicknamed "Snook"), was frequently the target, as he never took his work too seriously. He preferred, for example, to chop off the tops of weeds rather than carefully prying them out of the soil. So, only a few weeks after the family blitzed a field, chopping cotton as they called it, healthy linear stands of non-cotton vegetation provided unmistakable evidence of the rows where Snook had supposedly toiled. And one time, when he drifted away from the field to rest near a pond and contemplate some far-off vision, a well-aimed green cotton boll caught him sharply on the back of the head, startling him and causing him, as Williams recalled, "to walk water."<sup>7</sup>

Grover Williams had great admiration for his father, and that is clearly evident in his oral histories. Remembering his father's efforts to eradicate the boll weevil, he told:

We used a Paris green, I think they call it. It's something like arsenic. See, the old man he must have been immune to all of that – snakebites and arsenic and poison. See, he didn't have the equipment like the affluent farmers had, you know, where they go in there with sprayers and stuff, whatever. He had to get him a stick, just as wide as the row, you know. The only protection he had on, he had on maybe an old handkerchief across his mouth. And he had a little dust bag on each end of that pole. He had to walk, and he'd just shake it over, just walk around and shake it, hoping he'd get enough on there to stop the boll weevil from piercing that boll. It wasn't like a plane coming over with a great big old mist. It was just enough where it didn't do any good.<sup>8</sup>

When Grover Williams and I talked about hog killing time – a special event each fall on farms – he told me about the collecting of hog bladders. As the oldest child, he got to claim the first pig's bladder at slaughter time. This was more significant than it might at first seem. As he described it:

The bladder is about six inches long and it was green. If you blew into it, it would expand, so you'd blow it and beat it and soon it was bigger than a football. Every time you blew into it, it would stretch some more. You'd keep stretching it and stretching it, stretch some more, till it got about the size of a beachball. Then you tied it off and you hung it up and let it dry. When it dried, it would be just like paper. Over the hog killing process of that year you might get three bladders. My other brother might get three, according to how many hogs we'd kill. Everybody had them hanging up – wind blowing just as dry, just like a big piece of thick paper.

And then he elaborated further as to purpose:

That was for Christmas. I got three pops. See, you got it dry, and Christmas time come – didn't have firecrackers like you got now. You'd put the bladder somewhere and get up on something and you'd jump down on it – POW! Down in Flat Prairie, we didn't have firecrackers and Roman candles. You had to make your own stuff.<sup>9</sup>

With that, I asked what I thought was the appropriate follow-up question: "What did you call those?" "Bladders" was his reply.

Another cotton patch humorist in the Burton area was Eddie Wegner, who grew up in a German-American family. Mr. Wegner had a mechanical and systematic sense about his answers – he liked to explain processes in detail – but he always laced them with a little bit of humor. I interviewed him eleven times, and it seemed like each time there was something interesting going on at the kitchen table where we chose to conduct the interviews, primarily because of Eddie's son, Richard. One time when I was interviewing Eddie Wegner, Richard was breaking down and cleaning a .357 pistol at the table, handing it over to me at times to check it out. Another time he was making sausage. And then another time he was sharpening a Bowie knife he made from a truck spring. I never knew what to expect.

Because Eddie Wegner had such a good memory for details, I was able to interview him about a wide range of aspects about cotton farming. Take, for example, weeds. He described the common vegetative varmints, including cockleburrs, grassburrs, goatheads, Mexican burrs, white thistles, bull nettle, horse nettle, stinking gourds and careless weeds. But, even after years away from the cotton patch, he still harbored a special, deep-seated hatred and resentment for Johnson grass, the so-called scourge of the cotton patch. He called it "the plague."<sup>10</sup>

Wegner told about a time that he drove over to the farm of an elderly neighbor: "I drove up and he was pulling Johnson grass, and I said, 'What you doing, Mr. John?' He said, 'I'm trying to take care of this Johnson grass.' I said, 'Don't you know there's hardly any end to that?' He said, 'I well realize that.' I said, 'How long you been fighting it, Mr. John?' He said, 'All my life.'"<sup>10</sup>

Wegner also told of a young man in the Burton community who disliked his older neighbor – just could not stand him for whatever reason. So, each time the young farmer came across some Johnson grass on his land, he'd dig up the rhizome and flick it over the fence into his neighbor's field. Somehow, that gave him great satisfaction. Well, as the years went by, the young man

started courting the old farmer's daughter, who grew up to be a lovely woman. The two fell in love and eventually married. Years later, the old farmer died, the couple inherited his land, and the young farmer spent the rest of his life picking Johnson grass out of his field.<sup>11</sup>

Eddie Wegner liked to talk about animals, which he personified – like Mr. Jackrabbit going down into Flat Prairie or Mr. Chickenhawk circling the henhouse. He had an understanding of animals and certainly a respect for them, and it showed in his stories. When he talked about mules, for example, he related how they were hybrids and therefore supposedly sterile. He had personal doubts about that, but he offered as how most people thought the effort to breed mules was, at best, “not a good cause.” He recalled how one year his family lost two of their mules in accidents and they needed help fast to keep the fieldwork on schedule. So, Wegner's father borrowed one from his brother-in-law. As he told:

His name was Dick the mule. And Dick was – he was not too long on the working end. To make matters worse, he had been raised in West Texas where my uncle used to own extensive land, and my uncle was not known to be the most kind to animals. He worked them pretty hard. And believe it or not, old Dick, when we got him here, he knew exactly what a bedder was – a middle buster plow. That's what he'd put in a lot of hard days with. No matter where a bedder was laying or standing on the place in an idle season, when old Dick walked by it, he would look at it and then kick it with one leg. He knew exactly that was a machine of burden for him.<sup>12</sup>

In reminiscences of pre-tractor cotton patch days, stories of stubborn mules are common, and Wegner provided a classic version. He recalled a neighbor who had a mule that just quit working in the middle of the field one morning – wouldn't budge. The farmer tried the usual tricks – beating him with a stick, pulling on the harness, putting sand in his mouth – but nothing worked. So, he found a little dried prairie broomweed at the edge of the field and used it to build a small fire under the mule's belly. The mule would take a few steps forward to avoid the heat but then stop. After a number of small fires and only a few yards to show for the effort, the farmer decided to out-stubborn the stubborn mule. He went to the barn and got a fencepost and a drop auger, and he dug a hole next to the mule, set the fencepost, tied the mule up and left to do other chores. He left the mule standing out there in the middle of the hot field all day. At sundown, he unhitched the mule, hooked him back to the plow and made him work a few rounds in the field just to show him who was boss. According to Wegner, the balking mule was converted that day.<sup>13</sup>

I ended our discussion of mules by asking Wegner how his family disposed of large animals like mules and horses that died on the farm. He said if the death were attributed to a disease, they either burned or buried the carcasses. But if the animals simply died of natural causes, like old age, his family would drag them off to a secluded spot and “the Jones boys would take care of them.” That's how he referred to buzzards – the Jones boys.<sup>14</sup>

The Wegners expected every member of the family to work in the field, even women with infant children. Some mothers improvised field care for

their children, letting them ride on their cotton sacks, but when the Texas sun was high and hot they often resorted to other means. Young girls would take turns babysitting under a nearby shade tree, but the Wegners also utilized a “baby box” – a homemade wooden crate on slides, driven to the field by mules, that had a hinged side that could be propped open to provide shade. One of Wegner’s earliest memories was of this “baby box” and the perceived abandonment by his mother. As he recalled, “I would holler, Mama, Mama, Mama, until I couldn’t see her chop over the hill anymore. So when she came back, I was elated, of course.”<sup>15</sup>

When he became a parent, Wegner took his children to the field as well, even before they could work or walk. Instead of the baby box, though, he kicked the technology up a notch and used a baby buggy with a canopy for shade. One day as he picked cotton near the house, he heard his baby, Robert, gleefully giggling and gurgling and cooing, and he looked up just in time to see a family goat, with the buggy handle firmly in its teeth, gently pushing the buggy down the road.<sup>16</sup>

Wegner also talked about the elites of cotton pickers, those celebrated hands who could out-pick anyone, gathering hundreds of pounds of clean cotton a day. One in particular he remembered was an elderly man named Archie Laws, much in demand by local farmers for his remarkable skills and endurance in the field, and because of his somewhat unique ability to pick two rows of cotton at one time without losing concentration. He would stare straight down the row as he moved along, picking on both sides using peripheral vision and bringing two handfuls of cotton together at the mouth of the pick sack with a clapping motion. When Wegner asked him about the secret of his success, Laws said, “Well, the best I can explain it to you, one hand must not know what the other hand is doing.”<sup>17</sup>

That story contrasts markedly with the personal assessment of Charlie Linccum, who lived in the Lake Somerville area when I interviewed him. A self-professed poor picker, better suited to hand-digging wells and cisterns than working in the patch, Linccum recalled that even on the best day in the best field he had trouble picking a hundred pounds of cotton. His sister, Bertha, would frequently admonish him to work harder, even meting out justice by whipping him with an uprooted cotton plant, bolls and all, right there in the field. As an adult hand, Linccum recalled one particular incident where, as he weighed his cotton sack at the end of the day, the farmer to whom he had hired out observed, “You must have just come down here to eat.”<sup>18</sup>

One last comment about Eddie Wegner: he is unfortunately no longer with us, but I have great memories of his love for life. He always seemed genuinely happy to see me when we would visit, and he always greeted me with a great smile. He thoroughly enjoyed sharing cotton patch stories with me. When I last saw him several years ago, long after our sessions ended, he said, “You know, it’s good you interviewed me when you did. I seem to be getting freckle-minded these days.” An interesting description of what would later be clinically diagnosed as Alzheimer’s disease.<sup>19</sup>

Now, stepping outside the boundaries of East Texas, let me tell you about an interviewee from Turkey in Hall County, not far from Amarillo. That was the boyhood home of Curtis Tunnell, the first State Archeologist of Texas, later executive director of the Texas Historical Commission and my public history mentor in matters related to historic preservation, oral history, and traveling Texas. I conducted over fifty interviews with Tunnell, and his memories of life on a West Texas farm were remarkably clear and poignant. He had an ability – a gift, really – to recall the past with incredibly beautiful prose. In both spoken memory and verse, that to me evoked an artist's view, as in this written description of his childhood landscape:

Turkey was a beautiful place for a boy to grow up in the years before World War II. My earliest memories are of looking toward the west and seeing the sculptured purple silhouette of the Caprock. This rugged escarpment of the plains beckoned steadily, from the twin Quitaque Peaks on the south to Eagles Point on the north. This vista always made my mind take flight ... I never knew anything drab or monotonous.<sup>20</sup>

Tunnell was, by the local societal standards, a city boy. He grew up in the town of Turkey, but his parents worked on area farms as what he called "hoe hands." He said he preferred that term to "hoers," which he felt did not sound as distinguished. Tunnell's father and grandfather worked in the Turkey gins and compress, and other members of the family helped raise extra money by hiring out for picking and chopping. The Tunnell children worked across the area far and wide, often utilizing the small train known locally as the doodlebug to reach nearby farms, including those of their extended family. One such farm was near the Edgin spur, the site of a dispersed community called Grey Mule, now only a ghost on the High Plains. Today, you can reach the site of the settlement by means of a Texas Parks and Wildlife Department hiking and equestrian trail that utilizes the old rail bed, the route of the doodlebug. Here is Tunnell's description of one particular time when they had to catch the train at Grey Mule:

You had to flag the train. In those days, if anybody along the track wanted to go somewhere, they'd just go out and flag the doodlebug, and the doodlebug would stop. One time we went out, and cousin Nora Dale was with us. So, the doodlebug had come down off the plains and was coming real fast down the track. Oh, we all began to holler that it looked like the train wasn't going to stop, even though we were there beside the track. So, Nora Dale had on a red half-slip. She stepped out of that red half-slip, and she waved that red half-slip. The train came to a screeching halt.<sup>21</sup>

Tunnell's description of Turkey as a typical High Plains cotton town in the 1940s is rich. As he recalled:

One thing that is interesting about a cotton town is that during the ginning season they were burning burs at all five of the gins. We lived a block north-east of one gin, and there was always a southwest wind. The smell of those burning burs permeated the whole countryside. ... It has a very distinctive smell. I smelled it from my earliest days when I was right there a block from those cotton gins. I can't describe what it smells like, but it's like dry weeds

or something. It's not an unpleasant smell to me. When Mama would hang the clothes out to dry, the smoke would be coming, and they'd get smoked in that. I always thought that fresh sheets and fresh clothes, fresh shirts were supposed to smell like cotton smoke.<sup>22</sup>

Let me conclude with another of these cotton patch characters, my mother's brother, Thomas Francis Prater, Jr. – known as T.F. to the family. This brings us back to the blackland prairie of Bell County, where the paper began. T.F. Prater had a remarkable, lifelong ability of surrounding himself with other interesting characters, and he had a good memory for their stories. He remembered little details that made people sound funny, like “one of the McKee boys,” a neighbor who played his clarinet at night in the cotton patch. On more than one occasion, it seems, the McKee boy's moonlight serenade coaxed coyotes right in upon him.<sup>23</sup> And then there was another neighbor who made peach brandy in a remote section of the Prater land. The fermented pulp he left behind on the ground attracted animals, including the Prater hogs, that were eventually blitzed, running all over the farm, squealing and carrying on.<sup>24</sup>

Prater had a good sense of family history as well, and he recalled how my grandmother, Florence Nott Prater, a devout Southern Baptist, nevertheless kept a small bottle of whiskey handy for “medicinal purposes.” When she administered some to her sick children, she was careful to pour a little in a saucer and light it to burn off the alcohol, evidently making it okay for Baptist consumption. My grandfather, on the other hand, was not as theologically dogmatic as his wife, although he was apparently health conscious, so he generally took his medicine alone in the barn, without a saucer or a match, more in the manner of the Episcopalians.<sup>25</sup>

According to Prater, his father, a somewhat serious man who had a strong set of personal rules – not to be confused with stubbornness – insisted on biscuits to accompany his breakfast every morning. It was tradition, and my grandfather rarely messed with tradition. My grandmother faithfully complied, rising early each day to make scratch biscuits, but some days, in some unexplainable moment of independent creativity, she changed the routine and made toast. That defiance angered my grandfather so much that, according to his son, “He didn't go and even sit down to eat.” He went to the field because he'd rather do that than eat a piece of light bread.<sup>26</sup>

In his oral memoirs, Prater spoke of how farmers often had long-held allegiances to particular product lines – ties that could become trans-generational. His father was, for example, a Farmall tractor man, although there was a brief, unexplained, and ultimately disappointing dalliance with the Fordson line. But according to my uncle, “Old man Cross” (a neighbor) was a McCormick Deering man – International Harvester. His tractor was McCormick Deering, his implements were all McCormick Deering, his thrasher was McCormick Deering, and, he added, “I heard a fellow say one time, Mr. Cross's mules is (sic) McCormick Deering.”<sup>27</sup>

I have to add just one more story about my grandfather and my uncle. It has only a tangential, political connection with the cotton patch, but it speaks

also to his strongly-held traditions. Granddaddy Prater was on his deathbed in the Santa Fe Hospital in Temple during the early 1970s. He had laid there quiet and almost motionless for days, and we knew the end was near. But as news of Richard Nixon and some related Watergate matter came on the television in his room, he suddenly mumbled something. My uncle went to his side, leaned down and said, "What's that Daddy?" A moment of silence and then Granddaddy said, "They ought to knock him in the head." The old farmer was until the very end a New Deal Democrat.<sup>28</sup>

So, was there, in fact, humor in the cotton patch? Was my cotton picking mother right, or does Steve Allen's axiom of comedy prevail? Like most questions in history, I guess, it comes down to matters of context, perspective and interpretation. But, in a sense, it also comes down to the continually changing cultural landscape. How do we make sense of such a distinct historical era, with humor or otherwise, when so many of the landmarks, personal and otherwise, are gone? Cotton no longer grows around Burton, for example. It has, in effect, gone west and south to larger farm operations, and cattle now roam the former fields of the Williams and Wegner families. Many early Panhandle gins and compresses, as well as the small family farms where the Tunnells toiled, have given way to large agri-business concerns, and the settlement of Grey Mule is only a memory along a trail. The Prater farm in Bell County is long gone as well, although if you know where to look you can detect the refurbished farmhouse in the Marland Woods Subdivision of Temple, down the road from the massive Scott and White Hospital campus. And if you are a golfer, you can drive your cart to the exact site of the Utley farmhouse near Salado and tee off on the par four 18th hole at Mill Creek Golf Course, not far from where my grandfather died working his hardscrabble land for the sake of cotton and family and prosperity.

In the vernacular of the cotton patch, farmers often spoke of "scrappin' cotton," the end of the season process of going back over the field after the primary picking to harvest the few threads – the so-called "goose tails" – that remained in most bolls. It was a limited harvest to be sure, but it could produce additional funds, and in such a society all funds were helpful and genuinely appreciated. In a sense, historians today are likewise challenged to scrap the cotton. The crop was such an integral part of our culture for so long there will always be those who study its sweeping impact, from economics, labor and the environment to agriculture, class struggle and sociology. But to me, it always comes back to a set of fingers reaching down deep into a cotton boll, carefully maneuvering around the razor-sharp burrs, securing the center and twisting it slightly but deliberately – and maybe without the right hand knowing what the left hand is doing – carefully picking out the thin white threads for whatever reason. There was an inherent promise in the process. It was the human side of the cotton equation, and with that humanity as the primary focus we can still discover and analyze all of its historical facets – maybe even, if we listen closely, the humor.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Personal recollection of the author.

<sup>2</sup>Steve Allen. *Hi-Ho, Steverino! My Adventures in the Wonderful Wacky World of TV*. Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, 1992.

<sup>3</sup>Quote publicly attributed to Steve Allen; exact source unknown.

<sup>4</sup>Eddie Wegner. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, January 22, 1992. Comment about Flat Prairie made off tape.

<sup>5</sup>Grover Williams. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, November 25, 1991.

<sup>6</sup>Williams. November 25, 1991.

<sup>7</sup>Grover Williams. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, May 22, 1992.

<sup>8</sup>Williams. November 25, 1991.

<sup>9</sup>Grover Williams. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, May 8, 1992.

<sup>10</sup>Eddie Wegner. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, March 18, 1992.

<sup>11</sup>Wegner, March 18, 1992; story told off tape; personal recollection of author.

<sup>12</sup>Eddie Wegner. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, February 20, 1992.

<sup>13</sup>Eddie Wegner. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, freelance historian, September 9, 1994. Tapes deposited with the Baylor University Institute for Oral History.

<sup>14</sup>Wegner, February 20, 1992.

<sup>15</sup>Wegner, March 18, 1992.

<sup>16</sup>Wegner, February 20, 1992.

<sup>17</sup>Eddie Wegner. Burton, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, freelance historian, September 16, 1994. Tapes deposited with the Baylor University Institute for Oral History.

<sup>18</sup>Charlie Lincecum. Lee County, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, August 28, 1992.

<sup>19</sup>Personal recollection of the author.

<sup>20</sup>Personal writings of Curtis D. Tunnell, October 1999. Papers in the possession of Dan K. Utley.

<sup>21</sup>Curtis D. Tunnell. Austin, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, freelance historian. Tapes in possession of the Texas Historical Commission; verbatim transcripts in possession of the Texas Historical Commission; excerpted transcripts in possession of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

<sup>22</sup>Curtis D. Tunnell. Austin, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, freelance historian. Tapes deposited with the Texas Historical Commission.

<sup>23</sup>Thomas Francis Prater, Jr. Livingston, Texas, oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, June 15, 1993.

<sup>24</sup>Prater. June 15, 1993.

<sup>25</sup>Prater. June 15, 1993.

<sup>26</sup>Prater. June 15, 1993.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas Francis Prater, Jr., oral history interview with Dan K. Utley, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, June 16, 1993.

<sup>28</sup>Prater, June 16, 1993; personal recollection of the author.

**“BUILT BY THE IRISHMAN, THE NEGRO AND THE MULE:”  
LABOR MILITANCY ACROSS THE COLOR LINE  
IN POST-RECONSTRUCTION TEXAS**

*By Robert S. Shelton*

As the great strike of 1877 spread along the country's railroad network in late July, engulfing virtually the entire nation in what some worried was the beginning of a social revolution in America to match those that had haunted Europe, the middle and upper classes in the Texas port city of Galveston watched in fearful anxiety. On July 27, five days after angry trainmen in Martinsburg, West Virginia walked off the job and precipitated the largest nationwide labor uprising in American history to the time, Galveston's elite believed their fears had come true when workers in their city launched a series of spontaneous protests. Hundreds of black and white working men and women walked off their jobs and marched through the city, demanding higher wages, closing down businesses, and cajoling and threatening workers who refused to join in their protest. "It has arrived!" the editor of the conservative *Galveston Daily News* declared, referring to what he feared was America's version of the Paris Commune and predicting anarchy, bloodbath, and the end of the city's commercial prosperity.<sup>1</sup> As disturbing as worker militancy was to the paper's editor and to city leaders, even more unsettling was the biracial nature of the protests. During the series of strikes in Galveston over the next few days, black and white workers vowed mutual support, refused employers' offers to take each other's jobs, and proclaimed the equality of working people regardless of color or ethnicity.<sup>2</sup>

Accounts of the relationships of black and white workers and their unions have dominated the field of U.S. labor history during the last twenty years. Two main threads have run through much of this scholarship. One follows the interpretations of historians such as David Roediger, which emphasizes the creation of white identities by wage workers, mostly in the free states during the antebellum period, as crucial to the formation of working class consciousness and the strengthening and perpetuation of white supremacy. Workers seized their "whiteness" to distinguish themselves from black men and women who performed the most menial tasks and represented to whites the nadir of dependence, submissiveness, and powerlessness. By asserting their "whiteness," white northern workers, who were themselves often mired in lifelong, dependent wage work, claimed the Republican heritage of equality with capitalist employers and the emerging middle class. According to such an interpretation, working-class consciousness in the United States was built upon the foundation of racial identity. Along this thread, other scholars have focused on the relationships between black and white workers and their unions on the post-Civil War South. Following the work of historians such as Herbert Hill, scholars such as Ernest Obadele-Starks contend that white workers and their unions "imposed their own version of racial oppression" on African-

---

*Robert S. Shelton is an associate professor of history at Cleveland State University in Ohio.*

Americans.<sup>3</sup> By excluding black men from membership in their organizations and access to all but the most menial and low-paying jobs, white unions served as a bulwark for white supremacy. As these scholars and those of the “whiteness” school make abundantly clear, race was central to how American workers thought of themselves and their organizations in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Another thread of historical scholarship diverges from “whiteness” interpretations that see little but enmity and competition across the working-class color line. Such scholars, most notably Eric Arnesen, have argued that despite the indisputable importance and persistence of race, white and black workers could, when self-interest and circumstances warranted it, modify their racial perspectives and offer mutual support in their struggles against employers. These employers, historian Brian Kelly has argued, stopped at nothing to prevent any demonstrations of biracial cooperation, calling on the police, judicial, and military powers of the state, inveigling black and white men to replace striking workers, and depicting conflicts as dangerous radical assaults on order and peace. Employers, more than the workers themselves, benefited from and desired a racially divided and therefore more tractable workforce. The strikes that erupted in Galveston in the summer of 1877 illustrate such arguments, demonstrating that both inside and outside of the institutional framework of organized labor, black and white workers did indeed cross the color line to extend mutual support and that in the emerging free labor market of the post-war South not all immigrant workers reflexively seized upon “whiteness” and white supremacy as the speediest routes to assimilation and acceptance by the dominant society. Finally, the strikes reveal the role of employers and their conservative allies – white and black – in the post-Reconstruction South in attempting to use race as a wedge to enlarge divisions between black and white workers.<sup>5</sup>

During the last week of July workers on the Texas and Pacific Railroad, inspired by spontaneous eruption of railroad strikes that had raced around the country that month, successfully struck for higher wages comparable to those paid on other railroads in the state. Although this conflict no doubt influenced the Galveston longshoremen and casual laborers whose demands for higher wages worried news editors, perhaps of more immediate impact was the Colored Men’s State Convention that was just concluding as the strikes began. One of several conventions to meet that summer throughout the United States, the Galveston meeting attracted delegates from across the state. Unlike a national convention meeting simultaneously in St. Louis, according to *The New York Times*, the Texas delegates focused less on theoretical discussions of the place of African Americans in American life and politics and devoted their full attention to civil rights. The *New York Times* editorialist applauded the delegates for clearly stating that their demands for civil rights did not include demands for “social equality,” and suggested that such minimal aspirations should not be resisted by white America.<sup>6</sup> However, when African Americans “insist that they must, as negroes, maintain a compact solidarity,” the *Times* cautioned, they gave greater credibility to those who argued such assimilation was “not only impossible, but that its attempt would be unnatural.”<sup>7</sup> The presence of black delegates debating and demanding civil rights and public equal-

ity certainly created a stir among Galveston's African American population. As would become clear in the labor conflicts that erupted over the next week, however, assimilation and solidarity meant different things to Galvestonians depending on their race and their class.

On the morning of August 27, Morgan's Wharf came "alive with strikers," demanding their wages be raised ten cents per hour. A crowd of "white men and colored, thickly interspersed with police officers, was seen moving in and out of the warehouse used by the Morgan steamers for storing freight," preventing the unloading of a steamer by the company's African American longshoremen. The police attempted to clear a way through the mass of men in the warehouse for the two or three laborers who continued to move freight, but the crowd moved from one gangway to the other to block any effort to work by those who had not joined their ranks.<sup>8</sup>

Captain Charles Fowler, the Galveston agent of the Morgan Steamship Line went aboard the ship and was told by the African American hands inside the hold that they were ready to work but "that some white men were endeavoring to terrify the colored men employed by the Morgan line, so as to prevent them from working."<sup>9</sup> The chief of police promised to protect the men if they wanted to work. At this moment John Morrison, the white stevedore who contracted to load and unload vessels for the Morgan Steamship Line at the Central Wharf, ordered the black men to begin work. They began unloading cargo for about ten minutes, but then a cheer went up from the biracial crowd in the warehouse signaling a new effort to block the gangways. The workers then moved to the agent's office at the foot of the wharf, where Fowler told them that he would meet their demands, raising their wages from thirty cents to forty cents per hour.<sup>10</sup>

According to the *Galveston Daily News*, rumors circulated that white men who worked on some of the city's other wharves were responsible for inducing the Morgan hands to strike. However, the president of the white Longshoremen's Benevolent Association "stated emphatically" that they had nothing whatever to do with the strike among the African Americans but were on the wharf simply as spectators. He insisted that white union men were not interested in taking the work of the black longshoremen and supported their demands for higher wages, contending that thirty cents an hour was not reasonable compensation for the sort of work required of the black men. Since white longshoremen earned forty cents an hour, he said, they thought it just that African-American laborers should receive the same. The affair lasted only about an hour, and when the wages were raised the men went back to work and "everything assumed the appearance that prevailed before strikes became the order of the day."<sup>11</sup>

The short stoppage illustrates two important points about labor in the post-Reconstruction South. First, African American longshoremen who demanded wages equal to those earned by white workers sought a tangible, material equality that was as important to them as a means of survival and a marker of equality as the civil rights that represented equality and assimilation

to the delegates at the Colored Men's State Convention. Second, the incident demonstrated that white workers frequently supported African Americans efforts to obtain equal wages, even if they did so only out of self interest rather than class solidarity. Although they may have not instigated the strike – the rumor that they did so perhaps reflected more the prevailing notions about the inertness of black people than the reality of the situation – the white long-shoremen benefited from having black workers receive equal pay since wage equality provided a floor for their own wages and thus eliminated potential competition from African Americans.

The following week, however, a strike by casual laborers – men hired to work menial jobs on a daily basis – demonstrated that even in the post-War South there existed class consciousness and solidarity that transcended racial boundaries and narrow self-interest. The strike also revealed class divisions among African Americans and the determination by southern elites to counter biracial labor cooperation. On Monday, July 30, 1877, fifty African American day laborers repairing Market Street walked off the job and marched through the city, trailed by police and exhorting day laborers to stop work until city contractors and other employers raised wages to \$2 per day. During the depression of 1873, the city, contractors, and private employers had reduced the pay for casual labor from \$2.50 to \$1.50 per day. As the city began to recover from the effects of the depression, workers sought to recover the pay cuts to compensate for rising prices. By the late summer of 1877, a Galveston worker told a reporter for the *Galveston Daily News*, food, wood for fuel, medicine, and basic sundries cost approximately \$38 per month; a man who finds work everyday – an uncertain proposition for day laborers – and earns \$1.50 per day brought home \$39 per month. Such a wage meant that women and children frequently had to work to earn money, the worker stated, to provide for clothing and stave off starvation in the event of illness or unforeseen expenses.<sup>12</sup>

As the working men marched through the city, the crowd grew. After visits to various building construction sites, the narrow-gauge railway linking the city's wharves with the railroad trunk lines, the Stump & Lewis lumber mill, the terminal yard of the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson railroad, and the Texas Cotton Press Company, the crowd numbered close to three hundred men. Following draymen who refused to join them (the draymen were employed by Mr. George Lee, who operated a dray stables and did not pay \$2 per hour) to the Cotton Factor's Press on Avenue F, the strikers flooded the company's loading yard, demanding that the draymen and cotton handlers cease work. The superintendent of the press, A.P. Lufkin, ordered the protesters to leave, saying that he had already agreed to pay such a wage to his men.<sup>11</sup> The crowd refused. Lufkin then jumped aboard a dray and called to his drivers and other employees to follow him. Although Lufkin and several of the cotton press workers made it out of the loading yard, the strikers seized the reins of the remaining six drays, demanding that the reluctant drivers and cotton handlers get down and stop work. Two policemen then waded in with clubs, bludgeoning their way toward the men restraining the dray horses. Before the policemen had gone far, however, the enraged crowd turned on

them, pulling them to the ground and beating them. At this moment nine more police arrived, followed by armed citizens whose numbers quickly reached nearly eight hundred. Confronted by a larger and armed force, the strikers left the cotton press and headed for the courthouse for a hastily called meeting of the city's laborers, followed by the white civilians and police. The two policemen were not seriously injured; the only other injury was a welt on Lufkin's scalp where a dray stick had struck him as he attempted to lead the draymen out of the yard.<sup>14</sup>

At the courthouse, strikers spilled out of the courthouse into the street. The workers inside called for a speech from Michael Burns, a part-time longshoreman and screwman who had been temporarily expelled from the Screwmen's Benevolent Association earlier in the year for repeatedly breaking the association's working rules.<sup>15</sup> Burns claimed that Galveston labor leaders had forsaken the city's unskilled workers and praised the strikers for keeping true to the principles of unionism. He urged the workers to avoid violence, but assured them that he and other white workers sympathized with their demands. A black day laborer, Gilbert Baker, then introduced four resolutions. The first renounced the use of violence by workers. The second declared that the strike was "but the popular manner of expressing our condemnation of the oppressions to which we have been subjected in the reduction of the prices paid for our labor."<sup>16</sup> The third reiterated the intention of the strikers to obey the law and exhaust all "peaceable means to vindicate their claims for wages sufficient to meet the ordinary wants of life" and called for the appointment of a committee of five workers to ask municipal authorities "not only for their advice but their aid" in obtaining a "fairer schedule in the price of honest labor." The fourth resolution declared that "so long as the price of rents ... and the cost of the necessary elements of subsistence" remained at their current level, \$2 per day for manual labor was a rate affordable to business and fair to workers.<sup>17</sup>

Alderman George P. Finlay then spoke, urging the workers to obey the law. He told them that they had the right to strike for higher wages, but that they could not prevent anyone else from working for less. He also admonished the workers to stop their marches and protests because all over the city "women and children were suffering all the terrors of intense fear over the demonstrations of the day, and which Galveston had witnessed for the first time in its history." He told them that their demonstration was wrong, and instead of resulting in higher wages it was likely to cause the strikers to "come out with the little end of the horn." Strikes, he said, had never resulted in any good for the strikers, employers, or society. He concluded by assuring the men that "the white people were taking no part in the strike, and did not intend to do so, and that the best thing they could do would be to emulate the example set them by the white laborers of the city, and return to peaceful avocations."<sup>18</sup> Burns addressed the crowd again, assuring the workers that Galveston's white laborers "would never go back on the movement." William Ferrier, a white laborer, mounted the courthouse steps and also assured the striking black men of the support of whites. Burns then nominated a biracial committee, which the strikers approved by acclamation, to meet with the city's board

of aldermen. The strikers also appointed a committee to visit the homes of workers throughout the city to urge them to stay at home until wages were increased.<sup>19</sup> The meeting then broke up.

The next morning, July 31, 1877, about sixty black men and a dozen white men gathered at the county courthouse. The police chief, on crutches from the confrontation at the cotton press on Monday, told them they must refrain from "such demonstrations" as had occurred the day before. He vowed to preserve the order and peace of the city and reminded them that it was a violation of the law for men to band together and parade through the streets. He further stated that he would use every man in the city to protect workers who refused to strike, if need be. The workers then debated the propriety of including in their strike "colored women," who were then engaged in their own protest against laundries that employed Chinese laundresses in Galveston. The washerwomen strike, as historian Tera Hunter has ably chronicled, resulted in the closure of several "Chinese" laundries and demonstrated their own determination to assert themselves in the period after the Civil War.<sup>20</sup> The striking men finally agreed that they would support the women's demand that the city fix the wages paid washers at \$2 per day and for cooks, at \$20 per month. Finally, Burns rose to speak again, arguing that committees should be appointed to visit contractors and employers of the city to demand that they set wages at \$2 per day. He told the men that "soldiers had been engaged all night with guns on their shoulders, guarding property" and patrolling the city. A voice from the crowd exclaimed, "D - n their guns! We can whip them and their guns, too, soon enough when we start for them." Burns then urged the men to go quietly to their homes and turn out again at 7:00 P.M. to hear the results.

At 5:30 P.M., the unrest burst into violence. After an altercation on Market Street, police arrested a white man for assaulting an African American male, and on the way to the station were followed by a crowd of black men who demanded the police turn the prisoner over to them for a lynching. The crowd surged forward, and the police fired at them. A black man named Beauregard was hit in the leg; three others were arrested. The police then asserted that Beauregard had fired on the chief of police the day before. During the unrest, the bells of the Episcopal Church rang out to call the city's militia companies. More than 200 men, including a number of former Confederate "Colonels" and a special squad of deputized citizens, turned out at Artillery Hall.<sup>21</sup>

About 250 strikers, mostly African American men, met that night in front of the courthouse. A few white men were scattered through the crowd. Men in the crowd expressed their indignation over the shooting of the black man, and several calls went up to seize the shooter and take revenge. Burns then mounted the steps and spoke. He said he regretted that one of the strikers had been shot and "deplored the fact that one of those who are entrusted with authority and charged with the protection of the public peace, had been the aggressor."<sup>22</sup> He argued that policemen were appointed not to club honest men on the head and to shoot them simply because they were trying to get their rights. He said that this country belonged to the citizens, and that the citizens of the country came from every habitable part of the globe. "This country had been built up

by the Irishman, the negro and the mule," and all working men deserved a fair wage. Although Burns explicitly excluded Native Americans and Chinese from those who deserved a fair wage, his declaration of racial equality was startling for immediate post-Reconstruction Galveston. Burns then told the crowd that he had called on various men who contracted for city work and asked them if they would pay \$2 per day. Most said that they could not pay more than paid under their current contracts but that they would consider it in the future.<sup>23</sup>

Louis Griffin, a black railroad worker, spoke to the crowd next, advising the men not to do anything that was contrary to law but insisting that they had the right to a living wage. He proposed that a committee of five be appointed to wait on the chief of police and see that the policeman who had shot the innocent black man on Market Street be arrested for the offense. At this point, black political leader Norris Wright Cuney spoke. Cuney, president of the Galveston Union League, was the son of a prominent antebellum plantation owner and the slaveholder's black mistress. He had been freed before the Civil War and sent north to be educated. Returning after the war, he established ties with the business community in Galveston and was trusted and respected by the city's white leaders. Cuney warned the men against vigilante violence directed toward the policeman and against continuing their demonstrations. He said that if a warrant was issued for the arrest of the officer, it would be executed and that justice would be fairly and impartially measured out. For the past forty-eight hours, he continued, the strikers "had been parading the streets of the city, creating all sorts of discord and stirring up all sorts of bad blood, which had culminated in the shooting affair on Market street." He further noted that the strikers had never mustered more than three hundred men out of the fifteen hundred laborers in the city and that without the support of more of the laboring class, the strikers would accomplish nothing "except riots and bloodshed, and the destruction of their own best interests." He then warned them that there were "over 700 armed men – trained soldiers in the city, who would annihilate them all in an hour: and if they could not ... in the city of Houston there were 1000 men under arms who could be brought to this city in two hours to accomplish that bloody work."<sup>24</sup>

Cuney argued that the black strikers were not supported by white men, "nor by the full strength of their own color." They certainly were not supported by him. He stated that the strikers would be "sufferers in the end for the foolishness of which they had already been guilty in a vain attempt to revolutionize the industrial interests of the city." He then urged them to disperse and to return to work and negotiate peacefully with their employers for higher wages. Conservative economically, Cuney's views on labor conflict reflected those of many middle- and upper-class Americans. He believed that workers and employers shared a commonality of interests in working for prosperity and that confrontations were thus not only futile but also harmful. In the case of African Americans in a southern community such as Galveston, demonstrations and confrontations could also prove fatal.<sup>25</sup> Although Cuney later won renown as a champion of the state's African Americans, on this day he drew nothing but contempt from the crowd. His support for the moderate



Democratic People's Party in the previous year's municipal elections led many African Americans to suspect him of cozying up to Galveston's business interests, and many in the crowd now jeered him, calling him a traitor to his race and his class and dismissing his warnings.<sup>26</sup>

Cuney was followed by Anthony Perryman, a black laborer, who insisted that \$1.50 a day cheated laboring men. Echoing the Irishman Burns but exceeding him in his inclusiveness, Perryman declared that the striking men sought justice for "Colored ... Irish, Dutch, Chinese, and all who earned for rich men, who when spring time came, dressed their families up fine and ... rode to the Hot Springs, where they had good times, leaving us here sweating. ... If we will stand up for our rights we will get them. ... United we stand, divided we fall."<sup>27</sup>

Galveston, like many southern port cities, had a much larger immigrant population than rural areas of the region. During the antebellum period, the immigrant population at its largest constituted as much as one-half of the city's white population and nearly ninety percent of the free unskilled, casual labor force. By 1870, the number of foreign-born residents had declined in the city, but still constituted between twenty-two percent of the total population and thirty-two percent of the white population.<sup>28</sup> The percentage of immigrants employed as casual laborers had fallen by 1870 to about thirty-five percent of those so employed, owing to the growth of the population of the city as whole, from the fact that many native-born Galvestonians were by the 1870s second generation residents, and to the growing number of African Americans employed as casual laborers. The population of African Americans in Galveston had grown from sixteen percent to twenty-two percent of the population from 1860 to 1870 as city life and the protective penumbra of the U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands drew more black people to Galveston. Once in the city, however, black workers found themselves with few options but to labor at menial tasks that had previously fallen to immigrants. By 1870, black men and women constituted forty percent of the casual laborers in the city. Taken together, then, immigrants and African Americans comprised three-quarters of the casual laborers in the city. It was not then surprising that Perryman and Burns would appeal to the unity of immigrants and African Americans or that such an appeal struck a cord with the wage workers gathered on Galveston's streets that evening. Finally, after several more speakers, including other black leaders who urged the men to go home and return to work the next day, the crowd broke up.

The next morning, after another night during which the police and armed white citizens patrolled the city, the authorities made sure that the strike would not resume. Special "police representatives" visited Freedmen's Hall and other places "usually frequented by the colored people." Through persuasion and threats, they elicited promises that the strikers would refrain from further demonstrations of "a violent and revolutionary character" and would return to work as soon as they could find any. The police also urged African Americans to cease parading in the streets or following "fanatical leaders" and to hence-

forth depend upon the goodwill of the employers to pay a wage they can live on. The police patrolled the city throughout the day; wherever they encountered groups of black people they ordered them to disperse on pain of arrest. The intimidation worked, and no further protests by black workers occurred.<sup>29</sup>

Two days later, however, a group of about thirty day laborers engaged in repaving Strand Street walked off their jobs when told they would only be paid \$1.50 per day. The contractor had taken over the work when his subcontractor for the paving job quit, having failed to make money paying \$2 per day, according to the contractor. Once assuming the job, the contractor lowered wages to \$1.50 per day, and the employees – mostly white men but with a handful of African Americans in the crowd – walked off the job. Refusing to leave the worksite, the workmen were visited by the mayor, who insisted that the city, which had originally let the contract, could not interfere in the private negotiations between the contractor and his employees but reminded them that he was obligated to “protect the city and all citizens in their rights.” Later that day at a meeting of the mayor, several city councilmen, representatives from the workers, and the contractor the men reiterated their demand for the higher wages but insisted that they did not “desire to revolutionize anything, but to secure for ourselves, by peaceable means, and by peaceable means alone, such compensation for our labor as will justify us in feeling that we can provide for the wants of ourselves and our families.” After continued negotiations the men returned to work the next day for \$2 per day.<sup>30</sup> The rate hike proved temporary, however. By October, the city council once again was paying workers employed by the city \$1.50 per day. Repeated petitions by street workers for a restoration of the \$2 per day wage – later lowered to \$1.75 per day – prompted the city council not only to reject pay increases but also to discharge one-third of the street-repair employees.<sup>31</sup> The relatively quick, but temporary, acquiescence to the demand by the street pavers for \$2 per day, following the threats and intimidations used to thwart the efforts of black casual laborers for the same wage, is suggestive. The demonstrations by mostly black workers had drawn the support of blacks and whites proclaiming the unity of laborers across the color line. Since most of the protesters were black men and women, Galveston’s black and white business leaders could portray the affair in racial terms, exemplified by Cuney’s insistence that the black men were acting without support from most white workers and his threats that white military force would be brought to bear on the strikers if they persisted in their demonstrations. In the case of the mostly white striking street pavers the most effective means of isolating the strikers proved to be by giving in to their demands temporarily. Had the city’s leaders resisted the demands, they risked reigniting citywide demonstrations, this time with more white participants who would make manifest the radical biracial rhetoric of the previous week’s labor agitators. Furthermore, giving in to the white workers’ demands not only banished the specter of cooperation across the color line, but it also injected the wedge of pay discrepancy – a symbol of equality for African Americans – between the white casual laborers and those black workers whose demands had been extinguished through the threats of violence and arrest.

The strikes by the longshoremen and day laborers demonstrated the possibilities and limitations that still existed for African Americans in Texas even after Democrats defeated the Republican Reconstruction governments in 1873 and began the slow erosion of black freedom. The conflicts in Galveston illustrated that biracial support proved crucial in the success of unions and unorganized workers in confrontations with employers. The refusal of white longshoremen to break the strike by black dockworkers on the Morgan wharf helped the strikers secure higher wages. The demonstrations by black casual laborers to increase their wages and the ringing denunciations of employers' attempts to divide workers along racial lines elicited condemnation from black and white business conservatives and led to a militant response in the form of militia company patrols and police threats to subdue worker protest. Intimidation and divisiveness, as demonstrated by the relative quick capitulation to white laborers' demands for higher wages denied black workers, set a pattern for the response of elites to cooperation across the color line that persisted well into the twentieth century. The conflicts also demonstrated that black workers were coming to define freedom in the post-emancipation world in ways that were often at odds with the black elites' definitions. Despite the admonishments from Norris Wright Cuney and the *Galveston Daily News* that black workers should "vote, not riot, to solve their problems," black longshoremen and casual laborers saw freedom and equality not only in terms of civil rights but also in terms of equal pay for equal work.<sup>33</sup> The limited success they achieved in 1877 presaged continuing but ultimately futile efforts to obtain such equality as the century closed and the American apartheid system relegated black elites and workers alike to second-class citizenship.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 28, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>For a recent survey of the labor movement in Texas see George N. Green, "The Texas Labor Movement, 1870-1920" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 108 (No. 1) 2004, pp. 1-25; for labor agitation and African Americans in Galveston and Southeast Texas. The most recent overview of the Galveston strikes of 1877, which focuses mostly on black washerwomen, can be found in Tera W. Hunter, *Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 77-82. Race and class and interracial cooperation is dealt with in Robert Stuart Shelton, "Waterfront Workers of Galveston, Texas, 1838-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 2001); Clifford Farrington, "Biracial Unions on Galveston's Waterfront, 1865-1925" (University of Texas, 2003); Theresa Case, "Free Labor on the Southwestern Railroads: The 1885-1886 Gould System Strikes" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2002); Steven A. Reich, "The Making of a Southern Sawmill World: Race, Class, and Rural Transformation in the Piney Woods of East Texas, 1830-1930," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1998); "Struggle in the Piney Woods: Land, Labor, and Working-Class Formation in Southeast Texas," *Texas Gulf Historical & Biographical Record* 32 (1996); Ernest Obadele-Starks, *Black Unionism in the Industrial South*, 1st ed., *Texas A&M Southwestern Studies* no. 11 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); for biracial cooperation in the 1920 longshoreman strike see James Maroney, "The Galveston Longshoremen's Strike of 1920," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 16 (No. 1, 1978), pp. 34-38, and William D. Angel, Jr., "Controlling the Workers: The Galveston Dock Workers' Strike of 1920 and its Impact on Labor Relations in Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 23 (No. 2, 1985), pp. 14-27.

<sup>10</sup>Obadele-Starks, *Black Unionism in the Industrial South*, p. xix.

<sup>11</sup>The “whiteness” school and its intellectual predecessors include David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race in the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). For the stimulating debate over the extent and meaning of biracial unionism, see Herbert G. Gutman, “The Negro and the United Mine Workers of America: The Career and Letters of Richard L. Davis and Something of their Meaning: 1890-1900,” in *The Negro and the American Labor Movement*, ed. Julius Jacobson (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968). Herbert Hill, “Myth-Making as Labor History: Herbert Gutman and the United Mine Workers of America,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 2 (Winter 1988): p. 132; Steven Shulman, Nell Irvin Painter, David Roediger, Martin Glaverman, Francille Rusan Wilson, Stephen Brier, Irving Bernstein, and Albert Fried, “Labor, Race and the Gutman Thesis: Responses to Herbert Hill,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 2 (Spring 1989): pp. 361-403.

<sup>12</sup>For criticisms of “whiteness” studies as an interpretive framework, Arnesen, “Whiteness and the Historians’ Imagination,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (Fall 2001), pp. 3-32; and Peter Kolchin, “Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America” *Journal of American History* 89 (June 2002), pp. 154-173; Brian Kelly, *Race, Class, and Power in the Alabama Coalfields, 1908-1921* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001), pp. 7-11. For biracialism among waterfront workers in other port cities of the United States, see Eric Arnesen, “‘It Aint Like They Do In New Orleans’: Race Relations, Labor Markets, and Waterfront Labor Movements in the American South, 1880-1923,” in *Racism and the Labour Market: Historical Studies*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen. (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 57-100; Calvin Winslow, ed., *Waterfront Workers: New Perspectives on Race and Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), pp. 19-61.

<sup>13</sup>For a discussion of “social equality” and its role in the relations between black and white workers, see Daniel L. Letwin, “Interracial Unionism, Gender, and ‘Social Equality’ in the Alabama Coalfields, 1878-1908,” *Journal of Southern History*, 61 (August 1995): pp. 519-554; and Daniel L. Letwin, *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

<sup>14</sup>*The New York Times*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>15</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 28, 1877.

<sup>16</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 28, 1877.; For more on the widespread strikes of 1877, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Volume 1: *From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor* (New York: International Publishers, 1947), pp. 465-474. Also see, Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), pp. 36-71; Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972), pp. 1-24; John R. Commons, et al., *History of Labour in the United States*, Volume 2 (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966, reprint).

<sup>17</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 28, 1877.

<sup>18</sup>*Galveston Daily News* July 28, 1877.; Directory of the City of Galveston for 1890-91, p. 60.

<sup>19</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August, 4, 1877.

<sup>20</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 28, 1877; Lufkin, a director of the Galveston Wharf Company, founded the Southern Cotton Press and Manufacturing Company in 1859, consolidating it with others in town owned by other directors of the Galveston Wharf Company. The Southern Cotton Press practically monopolized cotton pressing and warehousing in Galveston. Hayes, *Galveston*, II: pp. 920-921.

<sup>21</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877; *New York Times*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>15</sup>Screwmen's Benevolent Association, Minutes, Center for American History, Austin, Texas, November 2, 16, 1866, 1:7-9; International Longshoremen's Association (Screwmen's Benevolent Association), Local 310, 317, and 307, Membership Lists, Special Collections, University of Texas, Arlington, Arlington, Texas, Vol. 1876-77, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>17</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>18</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877; *New York Times*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>19</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877.

<sup>20</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, July 31, 1877; Hunter, pp. 77-81.

<sup>21</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>22</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>23</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>24</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>25</sup>Douglas Hales, *A Southern Family in White and Black: The Cuney's of Texas*, *Texas A&M Southwestern Studies*, No. 13. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003); Virginia Neal Hinze, "Norris Wright Cuney," (master's thesis, Rice University, Houston, Texas, 1965), pp. 23-25; Unidentified newspaper clipping, Large Scrapbook, p. 89, p. 53, p. 47, Cuney Papers, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina.

<sup>26</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, March 7, 31.; August 2, 1877.

<sup>27</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>28</sup>The total population was approximately 15,000 in 1870; 24,000 in 1880; the white population was approximately 24,000 in 1870; 18,500 in 1880, compiled from the manuscript returns of the Ninth Census, Census of the United States, Schedule I, Population, 1870.

<sup>29</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 1877.

<sup>30</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 2, 4, 1877.

<sup>31</sup>Proceedings of the City Council, Galveston Texas, October 1, 15, 1877.

<sup>32</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, August 28, 1877.

## RACIAL POLITICS IN DALLAS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

*By Theodore M. Lawe*

At the end of the twentieth century, Dallas was viewed as a progressive city that had made a complete departure from its once rigidly segregated past. The most visible indicator was the election of an African American mayor, Ron Kirk, who claimed victory over an influential white opponent. During Mayor Kirk's two-term administration, he was credited with successful bond elections to build the American Airlines Center, and successfully organized voters and city business leaders in a project to approve the initial planning and construction of the Trinity River Project, a key component for future growth in the city. Several prior attempts to get this project supported had been defeated, which proved Kirk's ability to bridge former divides within the city's structure.

In addition to Kirk's election, at the closing of the twentieth century, four African Americans and three Latinos sat on the fifteen-member Dallas City Council. The nine-member local board of education included three elected African Americans and three Latinos, and the five-person Dallas County Commissioners Court had an elected African American commissioner on that body for over twenty years. The county treasurer, elected at large, was an African American female. Five African Americans served in the state legislature at the end of the century from Dallas County, including one state senator. African Americans were also elected judges in Dallas County District Courts, justices of the peace, and constables, along with appointed judges in Municipal Courts and the first African American from Dallas was in the United States Congress.<sup>1</sup> African Americans were finally well represented in the local city administration, legislative bodies, the judiciary, county commissioners court, and the board of education. Dallas was an African American political success story; political pluralism had seemingly arrived.

Such political accomplishments were the results of population growth in the African American community and the community's development of sophisticated political skills, which resulted from direct community intervention tactics, federal legislation, Supreme Court decisions, over 100 years of community struggles and demands, and other external influences. But more specifically, African American accomplishments came at a high cost from a long and painful history – they were active actors in their own success, not passive observers depending on external forces. According to the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce (formerly the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce), this success came “from long, patient hours of planning and negotiating by dedicated persons associated with the Black Chamber.”<sup>2</sup>

To understand the significance of these accomplishments requires an understanding of the incremental changes in the African American Community that were socially, economically, and politically driven. These changes extended for a hundred years and involved thousands of people and

---

*Theodore M. Lawe, Historian and Curator for the A.C. McMillan African American Museum, Emory, Texas.*

the creation of many committees and organizations.

A look back shows that the early part of the twentieth century found African Americans in Dallas County struggling to survive. Most worked in menial jobs such as maids, busboys, waiters, porters, and in agriculture. The best job available to African Americans was a Pullman porter that required constant travel but at least provided a clean uniform.<sup>3</sup> To help alleviate the lack of economic opportunity, the community organized several self-help groups to promote social and economic progress. The largest African American owned business, organized in 1901, was the New Century Cotton Mill Company, which survived until around 1908. Investors in both Dallas and New England raised \$400,000 to finance New Century. Its owner was J.E. Wiley, a transplant from Chicago and the second African American lawyer to organize a practice in Dallas.

African Americans, out of necessity and institutional segregation, also organized their own cultural pursuits. The major annual recreational affair was the Colored Fair and Tri-Centennial Exposition, which began in 1901. Annual Emancipation Day celebrations drew large crowds. The Dallas Black Giants were active in the Texas Colored Baseball League. *The Dallas Express*, a newspaper founded in 1892 by Mississippian W.E. King, was the recorder and voice for the African American community.<sup>4</sup> *The Southwestern Baptist Newspaper* published by Reverend E.W. D. Isaac, the Senior Pastor at New Hope Baptist Church, was the primary religious organ for Dallas' African American community.

From 1900 to 1910, the African American population in Dallas increased from 13,646 to 20,828 – over a fifty percent increase. During this period, several African American professionals moved to Dallas, led by Dr. Benjamin R. Bluitt, who built the city's first "Negro-owned" and operated sanitarium. William M. Sanford and Sandy Jones operated the Black Elephant varieties theater. Dock Rowen founded a successful insurance company, grocery store, and money-lending business. Dr. M. C. Cooper became Dallas' first African American dentist. In 1905, Ollie Bryan became Dallas' first African American woman to practice dentistry. The presence of such prominent professionals was a boon for the community since they provided leadership and served as role models for uplift and economic advancement.

In 1916, the Knights of Pythias built the first commercial building in Dallas for African Americans, designed by architect William Sidney Pittman, the son-in-law of Booker T. Washington. The building, located at 2551 Elm Street, provided office space for doctors, dentists, lawyers, and other professionals. It was designated as a City of Dallas Landmark in the 1980s.

Dallas' African Americans did not passively accept Texas' southern system of institutional segregation. In 1911, J.A. Gilmore refused to give up his seat in the "white-only" section of a streetcar and was ousted from the train by the conductor. The Court of Civil Appeals later ruled that the conductor was lawful in enforcing the "Jim Crow" law, but he used undue force. Gilmore was thus awarded \$100.<sup>5</sup>

In 1918, a group of socially sensitive men organized the Cotillion Idlewild Club for the purpose of providing social recognition and presenting young ladies to society. Because of the uniqueness of the club, *LIFE* magazine sent a photographer to Dallas to attend the annual affair. A favorable article appeared in a subsequent issue of the magazine.

The third decade of the twentieth century saw several events that demonstrated growth and maturity on the part of African Americans in Dallas. In 1921, St. James A.M.E. Temple opened a new state-of-the-art church designed by architect William Sidney Pitts. In the same year, Thad Else opened the first hotel in Freeman's Town, an establishment designed and built by African Americans that provided a vital place for a community subject to Jim Crow segregation. In 1928, the African American community raised \$50,000 to help fund the proposed \$175,000 community based Y.M.C.A. The first two African American Boy Scout troops were organized at El Bethel Church in Oak Cliff and St. Paul A.M.E. Church in North Dallas. In 1934, Father Max Murphy, a graduate of St. Peter's School in Dallas, became the first African American priest to perform a mass in the Dallas diocese.<sup>6</sup>

From a political perspective African Americans more actively participated in the political processes after the 1950s when African Americans in Dallas were no longer willing to ask for a change and wait patiently to see what happened, but to organize for change for themselves.

Until the 1960s, social inequality was mandated by Jim Crow etiquette. Historically, the African American church provided a venue for self-expression and served as an erected shelter against a hostile white community. The political and social issues in Dallas involved both whites and African Americans on the issues of housing, jobs, law enforcement, enfranchisement, and public accommodations. Indeed, no area of life for African Americans in Dallas was exempt from racial discord.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dallas was a violent place for African Americans. According to W. Marvin Dulaney, a Dallas historian, in March 1910, Allen Brooks an elderly black man, was accused of abusing a white child. After his arrest (but before he could receive a trial), he was taken from the jail by a mob of approximately 5,000 people and lynched. He was later dragged through the streets of downtown Dallas and pieces of his clothing and parts of his mangled body were handed out as souvenirs. A second case came in 1921 when members of the Dallas Ku Klux Klan kidnapped Alexander Johnson, a bellhop at a local downtown hotel, whose only "crime" was to have supposedly bragged about having sex with white female hotel guests. For such an offense, he was branded with the KKK symbol and killed. In both cases, no one was ever prosecuted. Rumors swirled that Dallas police officers that were KKK members took part in both incidents.<sup>7</sup> The two episodes were emblematic of how violent life was for African Americans in Dallas at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as how racially charged the political environment was. Too often, such lynchings and violence had the intended effect of intimidating African Americans. Approximately 340



African Americans were lynched in Texas from 1885 to 1942. Northeast Texas was one of the most lawless and lynching-prone areas in the state.<sup>8</sup>

Dallas' history is well documented with examples of segregationist and apartheid measures that denied African Americans their constitutional rights. For example early local ordinances barred African Americans access to housing, law enforcement, voting, public facilities, health care, and employment. The Texas Poll Tax passed in 1902 and the Democratic White Primary Law passed in 1903 were major instruments used to disenfranchise African Americans in Dallas and throughout the state of Texas. In 1907, the Dallas City Council revised its Charter to codify rigid segregation of all races in all aspects of city life: public schools, housing, amusements, and churches. The City of Dallas further restricted where African Americans could live by adopting additional Charter amendments in 1916. In the 1930s, the Dallas City Charter was amended to require all candidates for city government offices to run at-large and on a non-partisan basis, which effectively prevented African Americans from holding public offices. Reverend Alexander Stephens Jackson and Attorney Ammon S. Wells voiced African Americans protests to these circumstances through local Republican politics in Dallas County, but given that Texas was a one-party state dominated by Democrats, such actions had very little effect.<sup>9</sup>

During the war years and the out migration of African Americans from the South, African Americans in Dallas, as throughout the South, started to increase their demands for full citizenship by organizing civic and protest groups, community based organizations, and social clubs. In 1918, African Americans formed a Dallas chapter of the NAACP under the leadership of George F. Porter, a schoolteacher, and attorney Ammon S. Wells. Porter was one of the first teachers in Dallas to protest the unequal pay for African American teachers employed in the same job as white teachers. During this time, the KKK-dominated police department intimidated the NAACP by requiring that they have oversight at NAACP meetings.<sup>10</sup> The Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce (an offspring of the Negro Business League) was formed in 1926 to promote minority owned businesses and to generally improve African Americans' living conditions. The Chamber later hired A. Maceo Smith, a graduate of Fisk and New York Universities, as its Executive Secretary. In addition to re-organizing the Negro Chamber of Commerce in 1933, he became the publisher of the *Dallas Express Newspaper* in 1935. The African American Museum at Fair Park celebrates his contributions to the community with an annual community service awards brunch held in his honor.<sup>11</sup>

In 1935, Ammon S. Wells unsuccessfully ran for state representative for the seat vacated by Sarah T. Hughes, who resigned to become a Dallas County District Judge. In a field of sixty candidates, Wells received 1,001 votes, an impressive showing considering the winner polled 1,844 votes. Well's candidacy signaled to the African American leadership that they could have success in electing their own in Dallas with more attention given to voter registration and voter turnout.<sup>12</sup>

In 1936, a cross-section of the African American community organized

the Progressive Voters League under the leadership of the Reverend Maynard Jackson and A. Maceo Smith with the charge to represent the community's interests and recommend candidates for political support. In 1937, the League's agenda centered on hiring African American police officers, low-cost public housing, additional public schools, and municipal job opportunities. Under the direction of the League, the African American community cast deciding votes in the city council election of 1937. Such a show of political strength encouraged the city council to vote to integrate the Dallas Police Department and to encourage building a second African American high school to supplement the existing Booker T. Washington High – Lincoln High School. The City of Dallas Park Board also released plans for a new recreation center in the African American community and, in 1941, construction began on the first housing project in Dallas for African Americans – Roseland Homes.<sup>13</sup> According to Dallas Historical Society's "Portrait of an Educator," Principal John Leslie Patton encouraged the teaching of racial pride through innovative approaches to African American history as early as the 1930s. J. Mason Brewer, a noted African American folklorist, was a part of the school's faculty at the time.

Also, in 1936, the African American community, through the Negro Chamber of Commerce, secured \$100,000 in federal funds to build "The Hall of Negro Life" at the Centennial State Fair. Raising the funds proved difficult. A. Maceo Smith, originator of the idea, was initially turned down for funding by a joint state legislative committee and the City of Dallas. Through the help of John Nance Garner, vice president of the United States, funds were eventually obtained. The money arrived just three months before the exposition opened and on June 19, 1936, The Hall of Negro Life opened in Fair Park. Over 400,000 people visited the exhibit, with an estimated sixty percent being white. Harlem Renaissance painter, Aaron Douglas, painted four large murals in the main lobby; one of the murals is currently in the Corcoran Museum in Washington, D.C. and the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco owns another. The famous Cab Calloway and his Cotton Club Orchestra, along with the Duke Ellington Orchestra, performed at the celebration. The building was immediately demolished after the Fair; perhaps signifying the white establishment's indifference to African American racial pride, it was the only exhibit hall not a part of the Pan American Celebration a year later in 1937. Sixty years later, the site received its proper reverence when it became the home of the African American Museum at Fair Park, the largest of its kind in the Southwest with 25,000 square feet of exhibit space.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1930s, African Americans symbolically elected a "bronze mayor" to represent their interests. Dr. Edgar E. Ward and A.A. Braswell held this position in the late 1930s.<sup>15</sup> Because no public hotels were available to African Americans, many special guests stayed in the homes of the "bronze mayors."

In 1945, Maynard H. Jackson, one of the leaders in the Progressive Voters League, became the first African American to run for the Dallas School Board, and although he was unsuccessful, its symbolic importance cannot be understated. In 1959, Attorney C.B. Bunkley, another African American, ran for the

School Board; he also was overwhelmingly defeated by Nevelle E. McKinney – 34,330 to 13,411 votes.<sup>16</sup> By the 1940's, the African American leadership in Dallas realized that real progress would only come from making progressive plans. They set three priorities: to organize campaigns to overturn the Democratic White Primary; to equalize salaries of African American teachers; and to integrate the University of Texas Law School. In 1942, African Americans in Dallas organized the Dallas Council of Negro Organizations. This group retained Attorney W.J. Durham to represent Thelma Paige and to file a lawsuit, *Page v Board of Education, City of Dallas*. In 1943, African American educators finally received a victory when the court held that the Dallas Independent School District had to equalize teachers' pay. This was the first action of its kind in the state of Texas and it forced other Texas cities to follow suit.

Public school access was important, but movements needed leaders and leaders were trained within the world of higher education. African Americans in Texas were banned on the basis of race from most of the state-supported institutions; Prairie View Normal Institute (now Prairie View A & M) was the only state funded school for African Americans, although African Texans did have access to a number of all-black private colleges, including Wiley College in Marshall. But there were no professional or graduate schools or programs for African Americans, which greatly hindered economic and social advancement for the state's minority citizens.

The issue of lack of educational equality due to the "separate but equal" clause was not limited to African Texans – it affected African Americans throughout the nation. In fact, the NAACP had endeavored to overturn this egregious injustice for years. Led by its brilliant legal counsel, Thurgood Marshall, Texas presented the national organization with an opportunity. Heman M. Sweatt, a graduate of Wiley College, applied for admission to the University of Texas Law School in 1946. Although he was qualified in every area, the university rejected his application solely on the basis of race. Sweatt, supported by the NAACP and with Marshall as lead attorney, filed suit and challenged the rejection. The suit was first argued in state court and the trial judge immediately recognized the potential of the case to overturn "separate but equal." Marshall argued that the state was required to admit Sweatt since Texas had no "black" law school and thus did not satisfy "separate but equal."<sup>17</sup>

The presiding judge delayed the case and Texas' officials scrambled to find a solution. State elected officials decided that the only way out of their dilemma was to fund and open a separate school and in February 1947 a temporary law school, The School of Law of the Texas State University for Negroes, opened in Austin. Satisfied with the Texas' response, the state court subsequently rejected Sweatt's suit.<sup>18</sup>

Marshall appealed the decision and in 1950 the United States Supreme Court held that the University of Texas had to admit Sweatt to its law school, ruling that the temporary law school was not an equal facility. The court ruled very narrowly and the decision did not overturn the "separate but equal" clause, but most observers recognized that the end was near for basis of south-

ern institutional segregation. Sweatt enrolled at the law school for the 1950-1951 academic year, along with a few other African Americans. Marshall would use the *Sweatt* decision as a foundation for his monumental argument in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka* decision in 1954.<sup>19</sup>

During the 1940s another milestone in Dallas took place when the first African American, John King, was allowed to serve on a Dallas jury. African Americans had been barred from serving on juries for over fifty years. Political progress also began to pay bigger dividends in the 1940s when an African American became a precinct chair in the Democratic Party and participated in the Democratic County Convention for the first time. During this time, the Dallas City Council also authorized the hiring of fourteen African American police officers with limited authority to patrol the streets in African American communities. The first two officers hired were Lee Gilbert Bilal and Benjamin Thomas, the first hired in Dallas in over fifty years.<sup>20</sup> The city council also authorized the building of several segregated public housing projects in West Dallas for African Americans and a middle-class housing subdivision to maintain racial residential segregation in an area that became known as Hamilton Park, named for Dr. R.T. Hamilton, an influential African American physician. Donald Payton, a Dallas historian, remembers the Hamilton Park community in which he was raised to be one of pride and influence.<sup>21</sup>

In the decade of the 1950s, the African American community was under constant threat of bombings that started as early as 1941 with the bombings of eighteen houses bought by African Americans in then "all white" South Dallas.<sup>22</sup> The Reverend Donald Parish of True Lee Baptist Church vividly remembers his father, who was a member of the special grand jury that investigated the bombings, grabbing shotguns and gathering his entire family on the front porch every time there was a rumor of bombings. Marilyn Mask, a retired school administrator, revealed to a reporter of the *Dallas Morning News* how her employer tried to coerce her into moving from the then all-white Park Row/South Dallas area.<sup>23</sup> The Texas Rangers and the Dallas Police Department investigated the bombing incidents and although they made several arrests, only one man was ever tried and he was found not guilty. Two of the men arrested said that they had been paid by white community organizations to toss bombs at African American homes. The local white religious community was also implicated. Although African Americans had taken the initiative to improve their political, social, and economic conditions prior to the decade of the 1950s, it took the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education in 1954* to give more muscle and direction to these grassroots efforts. After the *Brown* decision, the political game changed. Racial politics became more confrontational.

Dallas hosted the NAACP National Convention in 1954, and 7,500 conventioners celebrated the *Brown* victory. Nobel Laureate Ralph Bunche gave the closing address and he forcefully called for full rights for African Americans. During the convention, St. Paul Hospital announced that it was for the first time allowing five African American doctors permission to serve patients at its hospital.<sup>24</sup>

In 1955, in an attempt to implement *Brown v Board of Education*, twenty-eight African American students attempted to integrate all-white schools, but Dallas' school authorities denied them entry.<sup>25</sup> The White establishment continually challenged desegregation within the city. The Reverend C.W. Criswell, the most powerful minister in Dallas and the pastor of the largest Baptist church in America, spoke as a demagogue against school desegregation in 1955.<sup>26</sup> His position was balanced by speeches from Rabbi Levi Olan of the Temple Emanuel, who confronted Dallas and his congregation on the moral demands to end poverty and improve education. Olan was a member of the delegation that greeted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Love Field in 1963, when he came to speak at a voter registration drive.<sup>27</sup> White city officials successfully dodged segregation for the remainder of the 1950s and through the 1960s. It was not until Sam Tasby, a taxi driver and father of six children, filed a federal lawsuit in 1970 did the school district earnestly begin to desegregate in 1971, under a federal court order with busing as the chosen mechanism. The school district would remain under court order for more than thirty years.

In retaliation for the NAACP's school desegregation suits, in 1956 the attorney general for the State of Texas, John Ben Shepherd (with the acquiescence of Governor Allan Shivers), organized a campaign to outlaw the NAACP and to intimidate its leaders. As in other parts of the state, the Dallas NAACP's records were confiscated, which crippled the effectiveness of the organization. A. Maceo Smith, a local leader who worked for the Federal Housing Authority, was thus forced to resign as state executive secretary of the NAACP and to terminate ties with the local chapter. The NAACP did not come back to its original strength for several years until Minnie Flanagan became president in 1959 and linked the civil rights organization to the local sit-ins movement.<sup>28</sup>

In 1960, the Dallas School Board held an "integration referendum." Dallas' voters rejected integration by a four-to-one margin. The Dallas School Board adopted a plan in 1961 to desegregate the district one grade a year, starting with the first grade in the 1961-1962 school year. Dallas' defiance of the Brown Decision was consistent with other approaches in Texas and throughout the South.<sup>29</sup>

Also, during this time, the State Fair of Texas was under attack from the African American community for only allowing African American entrance to the fair during "Negro Achievement Day." In an attempt to segregate the Fair, in the 1930s fair officials set aside the day as the lone day African Americans could attend the State Fair. After many years of protests, in 1953, African Americans were allowed to attend the full run of the State Fair of Texas with the exception of certain rides and restaurants. Dating back to 1901, African Americans had organized and promoted their own "colored fair." In a *Dallas Morning News* article, Bessie Slider Moody details her involvement at age sixteen with the NAACP Youth Council and their efforts to desegregate the State Fair of Texas and the Dallas Public Library.<sup>30</sup>

On the suggestion of Roy Wilkins, the National Executive Secretary of

the NAACP, the Dallas community formed the Committee of 14 (later called the Bi-racial Committee) in 1960 to negotiate and “manage desegregation” in Dallas. The Dallas Citizens Council appointed the seven whites; the African Americans came from the Negro Chamber of Commerce and the NAACP. At the first meeting, A. Maceo Smith (an African American) charged the committee with six objectives:<sup>31</sup>

1. provide integrated food services;
2. provide integrated public accommodations;
3. provide equal employment opportunities for Negroes at City Hall
4. removal of racial designation signs from all public places;
5. provide integrated seating accommodations at sporting events and at other public places; and
6. open accommodations in hotels and motels.

The Committee of 14 was challenged in its approach to “managed desegregation” from various sectors of the African American community that believed in more direct action. Among those who supported sit-ins and more direct action were such leaders as Reverend T.D.R. Thompson, Reverend Aston Jones, Reverend Rhett James, Reverend Earl E. Allen, Dr. Dudley Powell, and such organizations as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Dallas Coordinating Committee on Civil Rights (composed of the NAACP and SNCC). The biggest public demonstration occurred in March of 1965 when an estimated 3,000 people marched and rallied in downtown Dallas. Evidence shows that Black Dallas was divided on strategy for achieving racial integration, but united behind the objective of integration.<sup>32</sup>

Two prominent African American ministers who affiliated with the Committee of 14 harshly criticized those who advocated direct action and called for a “moratorium on picketing” in Dallas. The Reverend E.C. Estelle of the St. John Baptist Church said that “direct action had diminishing returns and public opinion had turned against civil rights demonstrations.” The Reverend B. L. McCormick stated, “There was no need for a city ordinance prohibiting discrimination because none existed.”<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that Reverend E. C. Estelle was a strong supporter of the Reverend J. H. Jackson, the leader of the National Baptist Convention USA, Inc., who was opposed to the strategy of Martin Luther King, Jr. and promoted “gradualism” to desegregation and knocking down the doors of Jim Crow.

In 1964, African Americans began to receive appointments to civic boards and commissions. Dr. William Flowers was appointed to the Advisory Health Board and John H. Glenn and the Reverend Caesar Clark to the City Planning Commission. Conditions changed drastically when the United States Supreme Court declared the Texas Poll Tax unconstitutional in 1966. Soon after, Attorney Joseph Lockridge was elected the first African American to the Texas legislature from Dallas. The Reverend Zan Holmes later succeeded Lockridge and he remembers being told by the rest of the Dallas delegation never to vote in favor of single-member districts. Holmes disobeyed, and was cursed and called a “nigger” on the floor of the house by the chairman of the Dallas del-

egation.<sup>34</sup> In 1966, Attorney L.A. Bedford, who had earlier run for the state legislature, was appointed the first African American judge in the Municipal Courts. Judge Bedford remembers those days as being exciting times. He said that he always strived to be a "hard-working judge and fair in my rulings."<sup>35</sup>

A chapter of the National Urban League was organized in Dallas in 1967, with the goal of helping African Americans identify employment opportunities. Also in 1967, Dr. Emmett Conrad was elected the first African American school board member. Latino Trini Garza, was appointed as well. Dr. Conrad's election to the Dallas School Board was in a citywide election and he gained white as well as African American votes. When he was elected in 1967, the school district had failed to follow through on the federal court order to integrate its junior high schools by 1965 and its senior high schools by 1967. Dr. Conrad won his seat on the school board with the support of the League for Educational Advancement. He succeeded in beating the Citizens for Good Schools' candidate, Albert Roberson, by 4,000 votes, even though the Citizens for Good Schools had won every seat on the school board since its inception in 1950. After serving on the school board from 1967 until 1977, Dr. Conrad eventually served on the Ross Perot Committee studying education in Texas and later served on the Texas State Board of Education.

The following year, C.A. Galloway became the first African American to serve an unexpired term on the Dallas City Council when he was appointed to the position. More concrete political progress came in 1968 when George Allen, a former member of the City Planning Commission, was elected to the Dallas City Council in a citywide election with white community support. Lucy Patterson, a social worker and granddaughter of pioneer school principal, Norman W. Harlee, later joined him in 1973.<sup>36</sup>

The killing of nine African American men and the wounding of eleven others by the Dallas police over the course of several months in 1972 brought the two factions of the African American community together. In that same year, A. Macco Smith led a coalition before the Dallas City Council representing approximately thirty community organizations. He called for establishing a community relations commission and improvements in investigating complaints against the police department relating to the failure to appoint an African American deputy police chief as well as the assignment of more African American officers to African American neighborhoods. Smith's appearance received results. Dallas received an African American deputy police chief in 1973 and an assistant city manager in 1974. As a further indicator of political and social change in 1975, the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce changed its name to the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce and broadened its membership to include African American political leaders.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time, a new generation of grassroots activists such as Peter Johnson, Al Lipscomb, Elsie Faye Heggins, and J. B. Jackson began to take on leadership roles along with Diane Ragsdale, Marvin Crenshaw, and Roy Williams, and others, some of them in prominent positions. All of these people were introduced to politics through participation in the Fair Park homeowners'

protests involving eminent domain.<sup>38</sup> The new grassroots leadership approach was to file federal lawsuits aimed at creating more district elections for maximizing grassroots political participation. In essence, their efforts were directed at institutional and systemic changes rather than individual concessions. In the 1970's, the federal lawsuit of *Lipscomb et al v. Wise* (Dallas Mayor Wes Wise) began the process that eventually led to single-member district elections for the Dallas City Council and the Dallas School Board, a key component of increasing African American representation. After several years in federal court and multiple rulings, district elections were finally mandated. In 1991, Dallas instituted a 14-1 political configuration, following earlier attempts to implement an 8-3 Council and a 10-4-1 Council. What this meant the end of the at-large system, which was the centerpiece of the Dallas Citizens Council political machine. The new council make-up greatly curtailed the business community's control of city affairs and public education issues, another long-time centerpiece of the white establishment's control. Lipscomb, Heggins, and Ragsdale were later elected to the Dallas City Council; J.B. Jackson became active in mass transportation issues through DART and continued his role as a political strategist.<sup>39</sup>

Marvin Crenshaw made several unsuccessful attempts for mayor. Roy Williams' book on Dallas politics, *Time Change*, explains how, because of single-member districts, more than twelve African Americans became members of the Dallas City Council in the last decades of the twentieth century, a numbers serving multiple terms, which indicated growing African American political strength. Among the unsung heroes that worked tirelessly for institutional change were Kathleen Gilliam, then president of the Board of Education, and Yvonne Ewell, who led the East Oak Cliff Sub-District of the Dallas Independent School District. Ewell was also active in bringing about change in the employment practices of the Dallas based major television network affiliates. Iola Johnson was hired as the first African American female news anchor in the Southwest in 1973.<sup>40</sup> According to Al Lipscomb, the dean of African American politicians, "Dallas has great potential to show other cities how the concept of inclusion works."<sup>41</sup>

According to Alwyn Barr in *The African Texas*, African American officeholders in Texas increased from twenty-nine in 1970 to over three hundred in 1990.<sup>42</sup> Within the private-sector, in 1977, a local group known as the Committee of 100, which was comprised of young African American white-color workers in non-traditional jobs, hosted a dinner for seventeen whites and seventeen African Americans to discuss the need for improvements in local corporate hiring and the image of the African American community in the press. The initiative demonstrated new leadership and, in a change from earlier activism, involved no one from the African American religious community. In another radical change, several white bankers and industrial leaders occupied roles, indicating that Dallas' white citizens had finally realized that working with African Americans was the best direction for the future of Dallas. Although no noticeable results came from this pioneering meeting, at least African American and white leaders initiated and began to form a base from



which future cooperation could develop.<sup>43</sup>

The decades of the 1980s and 1990s saw the Dallas City Council appoint two African Americans as city manager and the selection of the first African American and Latino as Dallas Superintendent of Schools. African Americans Sam Lindsey and Shirley Acy also occupied the positions of city attorney and city secretary, respectively. Al Lipscomb fondly remembers the backroom arguments that led to these appointments.<sup>44</sup> President Bill Clinton later appointed Sam Lindsey the first African American federal judge in North Texas. As the twentieth century came to a close, African Americans served in the appointed positions of chairmen and directors of the board of the DFW International Airport, which aided in more construction and concessions contracts awarded to African Americans and Latinos. John Wiley Price was elected also County Commissioner in 1984 and he became one of the most powerful politicians in the city of any race.

Seven African Americans sued the Dallas Housing Authority in federal court in 1975 on the grounds of racial segregation and unequal conditions. The case eventually resulted in improved public housing conditions; a final settlement known as the "Walker Decree" was reached in 2004.<sup>45</sup>

In 1995, Ron Kirk, an attorney, former lobbyist, and Texas Secretary of State, became Dallas' first African American mayor.<sup>46</sup> His election was monumental in more ways than one since it brought together a working coalition between the white business establishment and the African American community. Kirk made a historic appointment when he selected the first African American as the city's police chief. His administration ended in 2002 not because of electoral defeat (he remained popular with all constituents throughout his tenure), but because of term limitations.

As a powerful reminder of the "Old Dallas" that was run as an white business oligarchy, there is a picture prominently hung in Dallas City Hall that includes all of the Dallas decision makers from that era, including the mayor, federal judge, and the business community. There is not an African American face in the photograph.

Clear relationships can be drawn between African American grassroots organizations and political concessions in Dallas. Black Dallas leadership prior to 1950 was vastly different from post 1950 leadership. Before the 1950s, and immediately after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the NAACP dominated African American politics. The NAACP strategy of filing federal lawsuits challenging Jim Crow practices within the context of Constitutional rights, played a pivotal role in implementing court-ordered school desegregation mandates. A. Maceo Smith, Juanita J. Craft, and W.J. Durham led the campaigns and were the key players for the NAACP efforts. Juanita J. Craft, after serving on the Dallas City Council, died in 1985 at the age of eighty-three and left her house to the City of Dallas to be used as a landmark designated Civil Rights House. The house was the historic gathering place for civil rights lawyers such as Thurgood Marshall, who led so many NAACP efforts to end institutional segregation. W.J. Durham, a lawyer who moved to Dallas after

the bombings in Sherman, Texas in the 1930s, provided the NAACP with strong analytical legal support. He was reputed to be one of the finest trial lawyers in Texas. Durham, assisted by C. B. Bunkley, Jr., was legal counsel in the historic cases of *Sweatt v. Painter* and *State of Texas v. NAACP*.

Beginning in the 1960s, the federally funded North Texas Legal Services organization assisted African American grassroots organizations in preparing their challenges to unequal political representation on the Dallas City Council, the Dallas School Board, and conditions in public housing. They replaced the NAACP as the legal entity challenging the system for a level playing field.

The progression of African Americans in Dallas does not mean that racism has necessarily ended. The white backlash to the "new politics" was white flight from the city and the school system. A prime example of the phenomenon is statistics from the early 1970s, which show that at least fifty-four percent of the students in the Dallas Independent School District were white. By the end of the twentieth century, white enrollment hovered around ten percent. According to the *Dallas Morning News*' commissioned report prepared by Booz/Allen/Hamilton, "Dallas residents are migrating from the city to the suburbs at a faster rate than anywhere else in the nation." The in-migration to the city is coming from South Texas, Mexico, and other countries in Latin America."<sup>47</sup> In fact, new arrivals in Dallas from 1990–2000 numbered approximately 174,000 people; seventy-five percent of those were Latinos.<sup>48</sup>

Given current trends, the next twenty years will witness more meaningful participation of minorities in the Dallas political process. As the Latino voting base becomes larger and more sophisticated, more Latinos will be elected to public office. Coalition politics in Dallas is the wave of the future.

In summary, the demise of Jim Crow policies and practices in Dallas can be attributed to the efforts of African American plaintiffs and local federal judges in the persons of Judge Jerry Buchmeyer and Judge Barefoot Sanders. These two federal judges made rulings that desegregated housing, schools, and changed the political structure of the local governing bodies; namely, the Dallas City Council, Dallas Independent School District, Dallas County Community College District, and the Dallas County Commissioners Court.<sup>49</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, *Changing the Profile of Dallas*, 2005, pp. 26-28.

<sup>2</sup>Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, *Changing the Profile of Dallas*, 2005, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Larry Tye, *Rising from the Rails: Pullman Porters and the Making of the Black Middle Class*, (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2004), pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Prince, *The History of Dallas from a Different Perspective*, (Nortex Press, 1993), pp. 56-86. Donald Payton, "A Concise History: Black Dallas Since 1842," *D MAGAZINE*, volume 25, No. 6, June 1998, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup>Donald Payton, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup>Donald Payton, pp. 27-28.

<sup>7</sup>W. Marvin Dulaney, "Whatever Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" in *Essays on the Civil Rights Movement*, by John Dittmer, George Write, and W. Marvin Dulaney, (Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 1993), pp. 67-68; Robert Prince, *The History of Dallas from a Different Perspective*, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup>*Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Lynching." <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/LL/jg11.html> (accessed October 17, 2005); James M. Smallwood, Barry A. Crouch, and Larry Peacock, *Murder and Mayhem: The War of Reconstruction in Texas*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2003), pp. 119-121.

<sup>9</sup>Dulaney, "Whatever Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" pp. 68-69; Prince, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup>Michael Gillette, "The Rise of the NAACP in Texas," *Southwest Historical Quarterly*, 81, April, 1978, pp. 393-398; *The Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Ku Klux Klan," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/KK/vek2.html> (accessed September 8, 2005).

<sup>11</sup>Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, *Changing the Profile of Dallas*, pp. 6-12; *Elite News*, "The Dallas I Know: Pictorial History of the Past and Present," by William Blair, Jr.; "Smith, Antonio Maceo," *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Smith, Antonio Maceo," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/SS/fsm61.html>, (accessed September 10, 2005); The African American Museum, "28th A. Maceo Smith Community Service Awards Brunch, October 15, 2005."

<sup>12</sup>Dulaney, "What Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" pp. 71-72.

<sup>13</sup>Dulaney, "What Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" pp. 71-72.

<sup>14</sup>Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, *Changing the Profile of Dallas*, pp. 6-12; *The Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Hall of Negro Life," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/HH/pkh1.html>, (accessed September 12, 2005); *Dallas Morning News*, February 16, 2006.

<sup>15</sup>Prince, pp. 103-104, 131.

<sup>16</sup>Dulaney, "Whatever Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas?" p. 72; Donald Payton, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup>Alwyn Barr and Robert A. Calvert, eds., *Black Leaders: Texans for Their Times*, (Texas State Historical Association, 1981), pp. 184-187; Michael L. Gillette, "Blacks Challenge the White University," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 86, (Oct. 1982), pp. 321-344.

<sup>18</sup>Michael L. Gillette, "Blacks Challenge the White University," pp. 321-344.

<sup>19</sup>Michael L. Gillette, "Blacks Challenge the White University," pp. 321-344.

<sup>20</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, May 23, 2006.

<sup>21</sup>Jim Schutze, *The Accommodation: The Politics of Race in an American City*, Citadel Press, 1986, pp. 77-78; Donald Payton, pp. 26-31.

<sup>22</sup>Prince, p. 132.

<sup>23</sup>Reverend Donald Parish oral interview by author, October 4, 2005; *Dallas Morning News*, April 8, 2006.

<sup>24</sup>Donald Payton, p. 29; Julia Jordan, Church Historian, New Hope Baptist Church oral interview by author, September 20, 2005.

<sup>25</sup>Glen M. Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas*, (Three Forks Press), pp. 95-116; On October 15, 2005, The African American Museum at Fair Park gave an award to Sam Tasby for his contributions to the African American Community. A school has been named in his honor: *Dallas Morning News*, February 15, 2008.

<sup>26</sup>Schutze, pp. 91-93. Prince, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup>Gerry Cristol, "Levi A. Olan: Conscience of the City" in *LEGACY*, Dallas Historical Society, Fall 2005, pp. 46-53.

<sup>28</sup>*The Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/NN/vn1.html>, (accessed September 8, 2005).

<sup>29</sup>Linden, p. 94; C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, (Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 149-173.

<sup>30</sup>Schutze, pp. 94-97. Prince, p. 60; *Dallas Morning News*, February 10, 2008.

<sup>31</sup>Dulaney, "Whatever Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" p. 79.

<sup>32</sup>Schutze, pp. 116-117.

<sup>33</sup>Dulaney, pp. 84-85; Leroy Fitts, *A History of Black Baptists*, (Broadman Press, 1985), pp. 100-101.

<sup>34</sup>Schutze, pp. 181; David Richards, *Once Upon a Time in Texas*, (University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. 53-64.

<sup>35</sup>Judge L.A. Bedford, oral interview by author in his law office, November 3, 2005.

<sup>36</sup>Marvin Dulaney and Robert Edison, "A Time Line of Dallas Race Relations," (an unpublished paper) pp. 406; Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, "Changing the Profile of Dallas," p. 8; Prince, p. 76.

<sup>37</sup>Dulaney, "Whatever Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas, Texas?" pp. 88-89; Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, *Changing the Profile of Dallas*, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup>Schutze, pp. 163-166.

<sup>39</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, February 6, 2005, December 12, 2004, and October 22, 2005; *The Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Dallas, TX," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/DD/hdd1.html>, (accessed October 8, 2005).

<sup>40</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, February 20, 2008.

<sup>41</sup>Al Lipscomb, former city council member, oral interview, December 2, 2005.

<sup>42</sup>Alwyn Barr, *The African Texans*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2004), p. 89.

<sup>43</sup>Oral Interviews with Marvin Robinson, Billy Allen, and State Representative Helen Giddings, who attended the affair, October 22, 2005.

<sup>44</sup>Al Lipscomb interview, December 2, 2005.

<sup>45</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, December 21-22, 2004.

<sup>46</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, December 25, 2004.

<sup>47</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, "Dallas at the Tipping Point," April 18, 2004.

<sup>48</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, October 23, 2005.

<sup>49</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, February 15, 2008.

**THE CHIRINO BOYS: SPANISH SOLDIER-PIONEERS FROM  
LOS ADAES ON THE LOUISIANA-TEXAS  
BORDERLANDS, 1735-1792**

*By Francis X. Galán*

Nestled off State Highway 21 between Nacogdoches and San Augustine, deep in the East Texas Piney Woods, lies the small community of Chireno, population approximately four-hundred. Although the town is named after Jose Antonio Chirino, who obtained a Spanish land grant nearby in 1792, the origins of this early pioneer and his arrival to East Texas is shrouded in mystery.<sup>1</sup> Still a young man when Antonio Gil Ybarbo founded Nacogdoches in 1779, Chirino hailed from the Spanish fort at Los Adaes, which historian James McCorkle describes as the “cradle of East Texas” since the bulk of Nacogdoches settlers, such as Ybarbo and Chirino, were natives of Los Adaes.<sup>2</sup>

The following article focuses upon the trials and tribulations of the “Chirino Boys” from Los Adaes – Domingo, Manuel, Andres, and Juan – who garnered for themselves reputations as either loyal subjects of the Spanish Crown or as rebels in cahoots with French merchants from Natchitoches, a perception that often hinged upon their allegiance to the Texas governor. Los Adaes, located near present Robeline, Louisiana along State Highway 6, was founded in 1721 at the eastern terminus of the Camino Real. It served as the capital of Spanish Texas for nearly half a century until its abandonment in 1773. Its primary function was to check the encroachment of French traders from Louisiana into Texas and stop the supply of guns and ammunition to Southern Plains Indians intent upon raiding Spanish settlements.

The Louisiana-Texas borderlands that encompassed Los Adaes and the Spanish missions in East Texas is broadly defined from Natchitoches on the lower Red River, westward across the Sabine River to the Trinity and the Brazos rivers, including the upper Gulf Coast from Houston to Lake Charles in southwestern Louisiana. The Chirino’s activities, which involved mostly contraband trade in deerskins, horses, gunpowder, alcohol, and tobacco, took place within the Texas/Louisiana borderlands region and beyond to New Orleans and northern New Spain (Mexico). Smuggling operations were most often a reaction to mercantile restrictions the Spanish Crown imposed upon its subjects, as well as the actions of governors within the region, a particular problem in Spanish colonial Texas. The governors at Los Adaes also served as the fort’s commandants and thus often became embroiled in commercial relations with the French and Caddo Indians against the very trade Spaniards were suppose to restrict.

Domingo Chirino and his brother, Manuel, arrived at Los Adaes in 1735 after having been recruited from their native village of Saltillo in the northern New Spain. They were in their early twenties, illiterate, and from humble backgrounds.<sup>3</sup> Their father, Lazaro Chirino, took part in Captain Domingo

---

*Francis X. Galán graduated with a Ph.D. in history from Southern Methodist University in May 2006 and currently teaches at Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, Texas.*

Ramón's earlier expedition to East Texas in 1716.<sup>4</sup> Only Domingo rose to rank of sergeant after four decades of military service, while Manuel, Andres, and Juan remained rank-and-file soldiers at Los Adaes. Two additional Chirinos – Luis and Cristóbal – were garrisoned at San Antonio de Béxar, and evidently were not assigned to Los Adaes.

Domingo and Manuel Chirino remained loyal to the Spanish governors at Los Adaes throughout most of their military careers until the late 1760s when the new interim governor, don Hugo O'Connor, arrived at Los Adaes to investigate corruption charges against his predecessor. Prior to O'Connor's arrival, Domingo became involved in contraband trade on behalf of successive governors, doing their bidding along with other Spanish officers. In 1761, during an investigation of former Governor Barrios y Jáuregui's administration, Lt. Pedro de Sierra testified that Sgt. Domingo Chirino and Joseph Arredondo, who was the governor's muleteer, transported 500 to 600 hides stored at Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe to Saltillo for bartering for desired supplies.<sup>5</sup> Barrios y Jáuregui served as governor-commandant at Los Adaes from 1751 to 1758, a lucrative period of smuggling leading into the critical early phase of the French and Indian War. No other governor ruled Spanish Texas longer. A *residencia*, or review of a governor's administration, became the principal means for royal officials in Mexico City and Madrid to check the power of provincial governors. However, contraband trade and corruption often carried over into successive administrations of governor-commandants at Los Adaes.

Subsequent investigation revealed a complicated web of illicit trade with the French and Indians implicating Spanish governors and Franciscan missionaries. In 1766, Sgt. Domingo Chirino, then fifty-two years old, testified that while on patrol with four other soldiers from Los Adaes he encountered friar Francisco Zedano trafficking goods outside the home of a Bidai Indian, named Thomas, on the lower Trinity River along the Camino Real to La Bahía. Chirino had asked Father Zedano if he possessed an order from the president of the missions for the goods, but the friar responded that he instead received permission from Governor Martos y Navarrete. Perhaps sensing contraband trade, the sergeant seized the goods and transported the items to Los Adaes, which included 299 bundles of French tobacco, a small barrel of brandy, British-made wares, and other goods.<sup>6</sup> Although their place of residence was omitted from the investigation, some of Zedano's assistants were from Los Adaes, including an Agustín Rodríguez, who later became a leader of former *Adaeseños* at San Antonio de Béxar.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, Governor Martos y Navarrete had all the goods placed inside the company store at Los Adaes and drew up a bill of sale based upon his value of the tobacco at 163 pesos and the smuggled goods overall at 660 pesos. Spanish officials in Mexico City ordered the governor to auction the goods to the highest bidder and recommended that Father Zedano be replaced with another friar at Mission Los Ais near present San Augustine.<sup>8</sup> During the same investigation, a Franciscan friar named Francisco Xavier de la Concepción,

from Mission Los Ais, testified in the government's case against Father Zedano. Father Concepción, however, stated that Zedano only hoped to lure apostate Indians back to Mission La Bahía, especially with the French tobacco, which "the Indians found most desirable."<sup>9</sup> Whether Governor Martos y Navarrete actually gave Father Zedano permission to sell the goods went undetermined, but the governor became mired in greater controversy with Sgt. Domingo Chirino and Andres Chirino as his adversaries.

In June 1768 Sgt. Domingo Chirino filed suit against his former boss alleging that Governor Martos y Navarrete "appropriated" his property when Sergeant Chirino escorted the transport of artillery to San Antonio de Béxar. He added that the former governor's secretary, Francisco Antonio Solis, also did not return his riding gear and had moved to Mexico City instead of going to Natchitoches, as he had led the sergeant to believe. Chirino eloquently closed his petition to the viceroy stating, "all these things Your Excellency are of very little value in your country, but in this one are very much esteemed and necessary to serve the King (whom God protect) that costs half my salary."<sup>10</sup>

By autumn 1768, Sgt. Domingo Chirino appeared before interim Governor O'Connor at Los Adaes for the review of Martos y Navarrete's administration. Chirino testified that Martos y Navarrete and Solis had overcharged his account, doubling the expense for three oxen, a leather saddle, knapsacks, and saddle pads. Lt. Joseph Gonzales testified on Chirino's behalf, stating that the sergeant should be paid his due, which O'Connor subsequently ordered. By this time, Domingo Chirino apparently had earned the honorific title *don*, signifying a greater social status.<sup>11</sup> In 1770, other soldiers at Los Adaes, emboldened by Chirino's courage, also sued Martos y Navarrete for excessive prices he charged their accounts. The soldiers received back pay for the years 1767, 1768, and 1769 and agreed not to sue Martos y Navarrete again in the future.<sup>12</sup>

The third brother, Andres Chirino, unlike Domingo, acquired a rather unsavory reputation after he joined the garrison at Los Adaes in 1741. His desertion to French Natchitoches, insolent behavior, and alleged smuggling had earned him several trips to the jailhouse in shackles inside Los Adaes. Trouble for him escalated in 1755 with a complaint by Don Juan Antonio Amarin, who had earned the status of "first Spanish settler" as part of Governor Marqués de Aguayo's expedition that established Los Adaes. Amarin charged Andres Chirino with stealing one of his cows and illegally selling it to the Father President of the East Texas missions, which was still grazing on "the ranch of the priests." But Andres also incurred a debt with Don Manuel Antonio de Soto Bermúdez through an illicit business transaction at French Natchitoches.<sup>13</sup> Evidently, Andres had followed De Soto into desertion at Natchitoches the previous year along with two other soldiers from Los Adaes. De Soto fled because he supposedly led a petition drive of Adacseños to remove Governor Barrios y Jauregui from his command at Los Adaes, and Spanish royal officials sought his capture.<sup>14</sup>

Apparently, Andres Chirino also failed to show proper deference to his

superiors at Los Adaes, particularly while inebriated. Before his own desertion, Andres had exchanged heated words with Lt. Juan Prieto at this officer's residence while searching for Lt. Marcos Ruíz in order to sign a list for the retrieval of horses from the company herd. Lieutenant Prieto opposed Chirino's request because Andres "was a poor man" and in lieu of horses would find him "bad work," meaning assignment befitting low social status. The lieutenant then called upon the company guard ordering them to place Chirino's "head in the stocks with a pair of shackles." Chirino shot back that he was not scared, just like his response to De Soto's similar threat the previous day in Natchitoches. Some witnesses testified that they saw Andres on the balcony of Prieto's home, but omitted repeating the offending words that Andres allegedly shouted in public. Andres said his accusers considered his presence "prejudicial to society because of my pride, arrogance, and vices," particularly drinking.<sup>15</sup>

Andres Chirino firmly believed his one true crime was his own poverty, which explained why he engaged in illicit commerce at French Natchitoches and requested horses at Los Adaes. Appearing before Governor O'Connor in 1768, before his brother Domingo expressed his own grievances, Andres had implicated another former governor in smuggling. He stated that the "principal motive behind all his legal troubles was the economic offense he committed in acquiring deerskins, the same ones the governor [Barrios y Jáuregui] acquired in his trade with the French at Natchitoches." From his own perspective, Andres dealt in hides only "to maintain my family and not for enriching myself with this commerce, besides, even if I did, my poverty would not permit it."<sup>16</sup> In other words, the governor did not grant trade licenses to just anyone. Barrios y Jáuregui's successor as governor-commandant also considered Andres Chirino dangerous and imprisoned him, even ordering his banishment from Los Adaes to the infamous Castillo del Morro prison in Havana, Cuba.<sup>17</sup> Andres fortunately was spared this ultimate destination, perhaps through Domingo's intercession on behalf of his wayward brother.

Indeed, most governors at Los Adaes illicitly trafficked in deerskins and buffalo hides, directly or indirectly through their officers, with French merchants at Natchitoches. Like their counterparts elsewhere on the northern frontier of New Spain, the governors of Spanish Texas dominated this economic activity and left no opportunity for the development of a merchant or middle class.<sup>18</sup> Deerskins and tobacco, frequently exchanged for desirable French and British goods, became the effective currency of the Louisiana-Texas borderlands, similar to other backcountry regions in North America.<sup>19</sup> Spanish governors at Los Adaes also circulated pesos and livestock into smuggling at the expense of withholding salaries or properly equipping the troops, which became the greatest source of soldiers' complaints.<sup>20</sup> Domingo Chirino's loyalty was finally exhausted by the corruption and monopoly of power at Los Adaes when he testified before O'Connor and came to his brother's defense. The hardships that Domingo, Manuel, and Andres confronted also affected the last of the Chirino Boys from Los Adaes

On a chilly winter morning in 1772, Juan Chirino, the youngest soldier of



the Chirino Boys from Los Adaes, killed fellow soldier Cristóbal de Carvajal prior to their arrival at San Antonio de Béxar. Their assigned duty was the protection of San Antonio's citizens from enemy Indians, but notions of personal honor ostensibly came first. In the criminal proceedings that followed, the defendant, Juan Chirino, claimed self-defense after Carvajal had suddenly cursed and attacked him. The defendant stated there had been no previous animosity between them other than "the deceased having a lot of debts," who then perhaps became angry after Chirino appealed to the governor on his father's behalf ordering Carvajal to make payment to Juan for three horses.<sup>21</sup> Later that year the viceroy ordered Governor Baron de Ripperdá to declare the defendant "completely absolved, and free" to continue his royal duty, a command the governor readily obeyed.<sup>22</sup>

In the criminal case against Juan Chirino, Spanish royal officials felt he was precisely the type of soldier to defend the King's honor in far flung dominions against hostile Comanche or "foreign" elements. Spanish royal officials ruminated:

there was no doubt that Chirino, having rightly defended himself, did not commit any crime. Law 4, Title 23, Book 8 of the *Recopilación de Castillo*, warns that any man who consciously kills another will die for it, except if he kills his enemy, or in self-defense. The Doctrines are well received and established that one can legitimately kill another when in pursuit of valor from physical or verbal attack.

Spanish royal officials concluded that Carvajal had wrongly attacked Chirino's honor which he properly defended.<sup>23</sup> Juan Chirino's ruggedness might have been on the governor's mind when he set him free to protect San Antonio on such a battle-ravaged Texas frontier.<sup>24</sup>

The Chirino family presence in East Texas survived the abandonment of Los Adaes in June 1773 and the forced evacuation of its residents to San Antonio de Béxar. King Carlos III had ordered the fort's closure in the aftermath of the French and Indian War and Spanish Bourbon Reforms. The ascendancy of British sovereignty over France's colonial possessions in North America prompted French officials to transfer Louisiana to Spain in 1762, while Southern Plains Indians continued raiding Spanish settlements along New Spain's northern frontier, including Texas. Spanish Bourbon cost-cutting and base realignment efforts scaled the fate of Los Adaes. But soon thereafter, Juan Chirino was listed among a group of *Adaeseños*, those former soldiers and residents from Los Adaes, who requested permission to move from San Antonio de Béxar to the abandoned Mission Los Ais. Antonio Gil Ybarbo and Gil Flores led this petition effort.<sup>25</sup> The following year Ybarbo and a group of *Adaeseños* returned from exile to East Texas, first at Bucareli on the Trinity River and later at Nacogdoches in 1779. Juan might have been among them, but he and Domingo Chirino appear on a list in 1780 at San Antonio de Béxar for payment of wages from their days at Los Adaes.<sup>26</sup>

The whereabouts of the other two Chirinos, Manuel and Andres, following removal from Los Adaes are less certain. Perhaps both had already passed away or they hid in the woods from Lt. Joseph Gonzales, the seventy-three year-old veteran whom the governor left in charge of evacuation from Los Adaes. Yet Lieutenant Gonzales died at the former site of Mission Senora de Guadalupe shortly after removal on the march to San Antonio. In any event, some members of the Chirino family might have been among the twenty-plus Spaniards who stayed behind with Ybarbo's ailing mother at his Rancho Lobanillo in present Geneva, Texas, east of San Augustine, or temporarily relocated among Indian and French families at the Rivière aux Cannes only to return after Ybarbo established Nacogdoches in 1779.<sup>27</sup>

Juan Chirino was among the second generation of Chirinos from Los Adaes, where his more notable kin, Jose Antonio Chirino, was born May 2, 1755.<sup>28</sup> Juan was eight years older than Jose, which made them brothers or cousins, but at some point these kin parted ways. Shortly before Jose obtained his Spanish land grant in 1792, Juan's name appeared in military service records at La Bahía in 1791, but this time apparently without any incident.<sup>29</sup> Juan remained at La Bahía, where he eventually made the rank of sergeant on the eve of revolution in Texas against Spain. Other native sons and daughters from Los Adaes families – Ramos, Martinez, Alcalá, Luna, Cortez, de los Reyes, Herrera, Ochoa, de la Cerda – also joined Juan at La Bahía, including Antonio Demesieres, who was the son of former Natchitoches commandant, Athanesc De Mézières.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, the name of Josepha Chirino was listed as a widow in the 1795 census at San Antonio de Béxar, where many families were originally from Los Adaes.<sup>31</sup>

The greatest number of former natives from Los Adaes returned to East Texas with Ybarbo and eventually settled Nacogdoches, including Jose Antonio Chirino and his family, where they hoped to make their final home. (See List). The Chirino, Ybarbo, Mora, Padilla, Cordova, Flores, and many other Spanish-surnamed families had established deep roots in East Texas since the early 1700s and had formed part of a frontier experience on the Louisiana-Texas borderlands that McCorkle says nurtured a "significant independent spirit" among locals.<sup>32</sup> The life and near death experiences of the Chirino Boys certainly represented the kinds of challenges Spanish pioneers faced in Texas under Spain. Like their French and Caddo neighbors, they soon joined with new waves of immigrants arriving from a young American Republic in confronting greater obstacles to come. The descendants of the Chirinos and other soldier-pioneers from Los Adaes have carried forward a tradition of survival in East Texas with more kinfolk spread throughout the Lone Star state and the country, like all immigrants with diverse backgrounds who endured on the American frontier for better or worse.<sup>33</sup>

List of Spanish Soldier-Pioneers originally from Los Adaes (1773)<sup>44</sup>

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Source</b> ( <i>Census Year, (in Place, and Symbols to 1773) additional sources in Note #34</i> )
1.	Juan Antonio Acosta	26	1792 Mission S.A. de Valero
2.	Andres de Acosta	11	1792 Nacogdoches
3.	Domingo Diego [de] Acosta	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) * `
4.	Jose Manuel de Acosta	33	1792 Nacogdoches
5.	Juan Antonio Acosta	-	1778 S.A. <
6.	Juan de Acosta	6	1792 Nacogdoches
7.	Juana de Acosta	22	1793 Nacogdoches
8.	Jose Alcalá	11	1811 La Bahía
9.	Manuel de Alcalá	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
10.	Francisco Alde	17	1793 Nacogdoches
11.	Agustina Alvarado	41	1792 Nacogdoches
12.	Christobal de Alvarado	51	1782 S.A.
13.	Juana de la Ara	5	1792 Nacogdoches
14.	Maria de la Ara	1	1792 Nacogdoches
15.	Juan Santos Aragon	-	1778 S.A. <
16.	Manuel Aragon	3	1792 Nacogdoches
17.	Manuela Aragon	5	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
18.	Polonia Aragon	3	1792 Nacogdoches
19.	Santos Aragon	21	1792 Nacogdoches
20.	Manuel de Aragon	-	1778 S.A. <
21.	Simon de Aragon	1	1793 Nacogdoches
22.	Antonio Arriola	16	1792 Nacogdoches
23.	Ignacio de Aro	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
24.	Maria de Aro	1	1792 Nacogdoches
25.	Juan Baldes [Valdes]	-	1778 S.A. <
26.	Christobal Ballexo [Vallejo]	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
27.	Antonio Banuis	-	1778 S.A. <
28.	Joseph Domingo Barcenás	-	1773 S.A. >
29.	Manuel Barela [Varela]	-	1773 S.A. > <
30.	Josepha Barrera	2	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
31.	Christobal Bayja	-	1778 S.A. <
32.	Josepha Benero	12	1792 Nacogdoches
33.	Ramon Benero	-	1773 S.A. >
34.	Concepción Benites	13	1793 S.A.
35.	Joaquin Benites	-	1778 S.A. <
36.	Maria Benites	7	1792 Nacogdoches
37.	Melchor Benites	-	1773 S.A. >
38.	Trinidad Benites	8	1795 S.A.
39.	Jose Manuel Berban [d'Herbanne]	27	1792 S.A.
40.	Luisa Bervan [d'Herbanne]	25	1793 S.A.
41.	Antonio Brito	-	1778 S.A. <
42.	Antonio Cadena	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
43.	Joaquin Cadena	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
44.	Margil Cadena	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
45.	Xavier Calahorra	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
46.	Joseph Calderon	-	1773 S.A. >
47.	Barbara Camacho	1	1792 Mission San José
48.	Francisco Camacho	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
49.	Maria Camacho	5	1792 Mission San José
50.	Rosalía Camacho	21	1792 Nacogdoches

51.	Sebastián Camacho	-	1778 S.A. < (soldier) `
52.	Joseph Maria Camberos	-	1773 S.A. >
53.	Josepha Cano	1	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
54.	Juana Cano	3	1792 Nacogdoches
55.	Micaela Cano	16	1793 Nacogdoches
56.	Miquela Cano	21	1792 Nacogdoches
57.	Diego Carmona	-	1778 S.A. <
58.	Domingo Carmona	44	1793 S.A. > <
59.	Francisco Carmona	18	1792 Mission S.A. de Valero
60.	Jose Caro	1	1792 Nacogdoches
61.	Josepha Caro	9	1793 Nacogdoches
62.	Michaela Caro	6	1792 Nacogdoches
63.	Jose de Castro	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
64.	Luis de Castro	2	1793 S.A.
65.	Martín de Castro [son of Jose]	30	1792 S.A. (soldier) * ~ `
66.	Nepomuceno Cerda	30	1792 Nacogdoches
67.	Antonia de la Cerda	14	1793 S.A.
68.	Fernando de la Cerda	20	1795 S.A. <
69.	Francisco de la Cerda	21	1792 S.A. (soldier) * > `
70.	Guadalupe de la Cerda	8	1795 S.A.
71.	Isabel de la Cerda	22	1811 La Bahía
72.	Josepha de la Cerda	5	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
73.	Juan de la Cerda	15	1792 S.A. <
74.	Juan Maria de la Cerda [Zerda]	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) *
75.	Margarita de la Cerda	40	1793 S.A.
76.	Maria de la Cerda	1	1792 Nacogdoches
77.	Miguel de la Cerda	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
78.	Nepomuceno de la Cerda	-	1773 S.A. >
79.	Bernardo Cervantes	-	1773 S.A. > <
80.	Rita Cervantes	20	1793 S.A.
81.	Domingo Chirino	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
82.	Jose Antonio Chirino	18	1792 Nacogdoches
83.	Josepha Chirino	23	1795 S.A.
84.	Juan Chirino	26	1791 La Bahía (soldier) ~ > `
85.	Maria Andrea Chirino	14	1793 Nacogdoches
86.	Antonio Chiver	-	1778 S.A. <
87.	Barbara Cordova	31	1792 Nacogdoches
88.	Cristóbal de Cordova	49	1792 Nacogdoches
89.	Joaquin Cordova	-	1773 S.A. >
90.	Josepha de Cordova	5	1792 Nacogdoches
91.	Miguel de Cordova	37	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
92.	Ramon de Cordova	11	1792 Nacogdoches
93.	Juan Jose Cordova	6	1809 S.A.
94.	Antonio Cortez	14	1811 La Bahía
95.	Antonio Cortinas	7	1792 Nacogdoches
96.	Javier Cortinas	38	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
97.	Antonia Cruz	5	1793 S.A.
98.	Francisco Cruz	-	1773 S.A. >
99.	Juana Cruz	19	1795 S.A.
100.	Josc Maria Cruz	40	1793 S.A.
101.	Manuel Cruz	-	1773 S.A. >
102.	Manuel de la Cruz	41	1782 S.A. <
103.	Dolores Delgado	5	1796 S.A.
104.	Maria Antonia Dervan [D'herbanne]	13	1792 Nacogdoches
105.	Manuel Dervan [Derban]	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) * `
106.	Juana Maria Dervan [D'herbanne]	30	1792 Nacogdoches

107.	Isabel de Esparza	17	1792 Nacogdoches
108.	Salvador de Esparza	-	1773 S.A. >
109.	Antonia Esparza	28	1793 S.A.
110.	Baltasar Esparza	37	1792 Nacogdoches
111.	Blas Esparza	2	1792 Nacogdoches
112.	Jotamas Esparza	10	1792 Nacogdoches
113.	Pedro Jose Esparza	30	1792 Nacogdoches
114.	Tomas Esparza	16	1793 Nacogdoches
115.	Ana Jacoba Equis	2	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
116.	Christobal Equis	-	1773 S.A. >
117.	Geronimo Equis	7	1792 Nacogdoches
118.	Isidro Eugenio	-	1773 S.A. >
119.	Francisco Flores	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) <
120.	Gil Flores	-	1773 S.A. >
121.	Guadalupe Flores	-	1795 S.A.
122.	Jose Flores	17	1792 Nacogdoches
123.	Jose Antonio Flores	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) * ^
124.	Juan Antonio Flores	27	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) ^
125.	Lorenzo Flores	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
126.	Luisa Flores	31	1792 S.A.
127.	Manuel Flores	13	1792 Nacogdoches
128.	Maria Seledina Flores	13	1792 Nacogdoches
129.	Ocacia Flores	21	1792 Nacogdoches
130.	Pablo Flores	-	1778 S.A. <
131.	Toribio de la Fuente	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) >
132.	Antonio Gallardo	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
133.	Cayetano Games	-	1773 S.A. >
134.	Francisco Salas Games	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) * ^
135.	Ildefonso Games	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
136.	Jose Miguel Games	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
137.	Juan Josef Games	30	1782 S.A.
138.	Juana Games	28	1793 S.A.
139.	Domingo Garcia	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
140.	Baltasar de la Garza	7	1792 Nacogdoches
141.	Jose de la Garza	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
142.	Luis de la Garza	8	1795 S.A.
143.	Maria de la Garza	7	1795 S.A.
144.	Simon Santos de la Garza	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
145.	Cayetano Gomez	-	1778 S.A. <
146.	Francisco Gomez	15	1793 S.A.
147.	Jose Manuel Gomez	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
148.	Clemente Gonzales	-	1778 S.A. <
149.	Vicente Gonzales	-	1778 S.A. <
150.	Andres Gonzalez [s]	5	1793 S.A. (soldier) ^
151.	Antonio Gonzalez [s]	-	1792 S.A. (soldier)*
152.	Maria de la Trinidad Gonzalez	4	1792 Nacogdoches (also 1793)
153.	Pedro Gonzalez [s]	-	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) * ^
154.	Victoria Gonzalez	35	1793 S.A.
155.	Pedro Granados	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
156.	Martina Grande	13	1792 Nacogdoches
157.	Jose Antonio Guerra	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) ^
158.	Ana Maria Guerrero	6	1792 Nacogdoches
159.	Francisco Guerrero	40	1793 S.A. >
160.	Joseph Felix Guerrero	-	1778 S.A. <
161.	Juan Ignacio Guerrero	-	1773 S.A. >
162.	Tomas Gutierrez	-	1773 S.A. >

163.	Eusebio Guzmán	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
164.	Catarina Hernández	26	1811 La Bahía
165.	Ignacio Hernández	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
166.	Joseph Luis Hernández	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
167.	Marcos Hernández	-	1778 S.A. <
168.	Micaela Hernández	20	1793 S.A.
169.	Pedro Hernández	-	1778 S.A. <
170.	Santos Hernández	19	1792 S.A.
171.	Diego Herrera	-	1773 S.A. >
172.	Soledad Herrera	2	1811 La Bahía
173.	Alexandro Hidalgo	-	1792 S.A. (soldier)*
174.	Juan Jose Hidalgo	-	1792 S.A. (soldier)*
175.	Luisa Hidalgo	24	1795 S.A.
176.	Maria del Pilar Hidalgo	29	1792 S.A.
177.	Josefa [married to Nicolas Chávez]	1	1793 Nacogdoches
178.	Antonia de Lara	5	1792 Nacogdoches
179.	Joseph de Lara	-	1778 S.A. <
180.	Juana de Lara	15	1793 Nacogdoches
181.	Pedro de Lara	43	1792 Nacogdoches
182.	Faustino Laso	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
183.	Manuel Lisardo	-	1773 S.A. >
184.	Ciprian Losolla	-	1778 S.A. <
185.	Manuel Losolla	-	1778 S.A. <
186.	Bitorino Losoya	7	1795 S.A.
187.	Francisco Losoya	-	1773 S.A. >
188.	Miguel Losoya	41	1792 S.A. (soldier) `
189.	Faustino de Luna	2	1811 La Bahía
190.	Jose Antonio de Luna	9	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
191.	Pedro de Luna	-	1773 S.A. >
192.	Guadalupe Luna	2	La Bahía
193.	Alexandro Mansolo	11	1792 S.A.
194.	Anastacia Mansolo	4	1792 Nacogdoches
195.	Facundo Mansolo	-	1792 S.A. (soldier)*
196.	Jacinta Mansolo	2	1792 Mission San Juan Capistrano
197.	Joaquin Mansolo	-	1773 S.A. >
198.	Jose Mansolo	9	1792 S.A.
199.	Jose Mansolo	26	1792 Mission San José
200.	Jose Joaquin Mansolo	-	1792 S.A. (soldier) * <
201.	Pedro Mansolo	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
202.	Thomas Manzolo	5	1793 Nacogdoches
203.	Trinidad Manzolo	2	1793 Nacogdoches
204.	Victor Mansolo	-	1773 S.A. >
205.	Rosa Marques	10	1793 S.A.
206.	Anastacia Martinez	30	1811 La Bahía
207.	Bernardo Martinez	-	1792 Mission Concepción
208.	Jacinta Martinez	34	1792 Mission San Juan Capistrano
209.	Jose Martinez	19	1792 S.A.
210.	Jose Maria Martinez	3	1793 S.A.
211.	Jose Maria Martinez	2	1793 S.A.
212.	Juan Nepomuceno Martinez	41	1792 S.A. (soldier) > `
213.	Manuel Martinez	6	1793 S.A.
214.	Marcos Martinez	-	1773 S.A. >
215.	Pascual Martinez	5	1793 S.A.
216.	Francisco Antonio Medrano	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
217.	Manuel Mendez	-	1773 S.A.
218.	Gregorio de Meza	6	1793 Nacogdoches

219.	Jacinto de Meza	22	1793 Nacogdoches
220.	Jose Montes	7	1793 S.A.
221.	Ignacio Montes	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
222.	Juan de Mora	-	1773 S.A. >
223.	Juan de Mora	9	1792 Nacogdoches
224.	Manuel de Mora	38	1792 Nacogdoches
225.	Maria Antonia de Mora	9	1792 Nacogdoches
226.	Teresa de Mora	19	1792 Nacogdoches
227.	Antonio Mora	9	1792 Nacogdoches
228.	Gregorio Mora	2	1792 Nacogdoches
229.	Jacinto Mora	19	1792 Nacogdoches >
230.	Manuel Mora	-	1773 S.A. >
231.	Manuel Mora	1	1792 S.A.
232.	Maria Refugia Mora	1	1792 Nacogdoches
233.	Nicolas Mora	-	1773 S.A. >
234.	Agustín Morillo [Morllo]	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
235.	Barbara Morin	7	1793 Nacogdoches
236.	Barbara Morin	2	1792 Nacogdoches
237.	Estevan Morin	1	1792 Nacogdoches
238.	Gil Morin	34	1793 Nacogdoches (soldier) * ^ `
239.	Jose Morin	7	1792 Nacogdoches
240.	Maria de la Concepción Morin	1	1792 Nacogdoches
241.	Melchor Morin	43	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) > `
242.	Dumas Moya	-	1773 S.A. >
243.	Jose Mungia	24	1795 S.A.
244.	Joaquín Musquiz	11	1792 S.A.
245.	Nicolas de Najar	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
246.	Ignacio Navarro	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
247.	Maria Nieves	2	1792 Nacogdoches
248.	Jose Ochoa	8	1793 Nacogdoches
249.	Maria Josepha Ochoa	22	1811 La Bahía
250.	Juan Joseph Pacheco	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > < `
251.	Antonio Padilla	10	1792 Nacogdoches
252.	Christobal Padilla	31	1792 Nacogdoches >
253.	Francisco Padilla	5	1792 Nacogdoches
254.	Francisco Padilla	13	1796 S.A.
255.	Gabriel Padilla	-	1773 S.A. >
256.	Isabel Padilla	24	1792 Nacogdoches
257.	Javier Padilla	33	1792 Nacogdoches
258.	Juan Manuel Padilla	-	1773 S.A. >
259.	Magdalena Padilla	1	1792 Nacogdoches
260.	Maria Padilla	40	1792 Nacogdoches
261.	Mariano Padilla	-	1773 S.A. >
262.	Patricio Padilla	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
263.	Pedro Padilla	7	1792 Nacogdoches
264.	Beatrice Peña	38	1792 Nacogdoches
265.	Jose Antonio Peña	-	1780 S.A. `
266.	Christobal Perez	-	1780 S.A. `
267.	Maria del Pilar	1	1792 Nacogdoches
268.	Catarina Posos	29	1793 S.A.
269.	Lorenzo Posos [son of Manuel Pozos]	27	1795 S.A. (soldier) * < `
270.	Manuel Salvador Pozos	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
271.	Pedro Pozos (son of Manuel Pozos)	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
272.	Maria del Pilar Procela	14	1792 Nacogdoches
273.	Melchor Procela	11	1792 Nacogdoches
274.	Pedro Procela	11	1792 Nacogdoches

275.	Maria Rafaela	6	1809 S.A.
276.	Francisco Ramírez	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > <`
277.	Jose Ramírez	15	1792 S.A.
278.	Jose Ramírez	11	1792 S.A.
279.	Luisa Ramírez	5	1793 Nacogdoches
280.	Hermenegilda Ramos	13	1811 La Bahía
281.	Ignacia Ramos	29	1793 S.A.
282.	Lorenzo Ramos	26	1792 S.A. <
283.	Miguel Ramos	-	1773 S.A. >
284.	Tadeo Ramos	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
285.	Ignacio de el Raso	-	1778 S.A. <
286.	Juan Remigio	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
287.	Theresa Reolo	5	1792 Nacogdoches
288.	Christobal de los Reyes	-	1782 S.A. (soldier) +
289.	Felix de los Reyes	-	1782 S.A. (soldier) +
290.	Gertrudis de los Reyes	32	1811 La Bahía
291.	Juan de los Reyes	-	1778 S.A. <
292.	Juan Antonio de los Reyes	-	1778 S.A. <
293.	Juana de los Reyes	11	1792 Nacogdoches
294.	Antonio Rincón	-	1778 S.A. <
295.	Pedro Rincón	-	1773 S.A. >
296.	Maria Luisa Rincona	11	1792 Mission S.A. de Valero
297.	Joseph Eugenio de el Rio	-	1778 S.A. <
298.	Antonia del Rio	9	1792 Nacogdoches
299.	Antonio del Rio	21	1782 S.A. >
300.	Barnabé del Rio	-	1773 S.A. >
301.	Dolores del Rio	14	1793 S.A.
302.	Ignacio del Rio	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
303.	Jesusa del Rio	23	1793 Nacogdoches
304.	Jose del Rio	7	1792 Nacogdoches
305.	Magdalena del Rio	13	1792 Nacogdoches
306.	Mathias del Rio	21	1792 S.A. <
307.	Melchora del Rio	-	1792 Nacogdoches
308.	Miguel del Rio	42	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) > `
309.	Rosa del Rio	4	1792 Nacogdoches
310.	Jose Luis de los Rios	-	1782 S.A. (soldier) +
311.	Agustín Rodríguez	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
312.	Jose Maria Rodríguez	33	1793 S.A. (soldier) * ^`
313.	Juana Rodríguez	39	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
314.	Prudencio Rodríguez	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
315.	Antonio Romero	-	1782 S.A. (soldier)+
316.	Francisco Romero	-	1778 S.A. <
317.	Antonio Rosales	16	1792 Nacogdoches
318.	Gertrudis Rosales	11	1792 Nacogdoches
319.	Maria Rosales	19	1792 Nacogdoches
320.	Maria Delfino Rosales	25	1793 Nacogdoches
321.	Serafina Rosales	10	1792 Nacogdoches
322.	Andres Ruiz	18	1792 Nacogdoches
323.	Barbara Ruiz	30	1793 S.A.
324.	Felix Ruiz	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
325.	Gaspar Ruiz	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
326.	Joaquin Ruiz (son of Felix)	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
327.	Marcos Ruiz (son of Felix)	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
328.	Marquitos Ruiz	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
329.	Maria Ruiz	6	1793 Nacogdoches
330.	Paula Ruiz	1	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)



331.	Luis Salazar	30	1793 S.A.
332.	Rogue Salazar	2	1792 Mission San José (S.A.)
333.	Joseph Antonio Salinas	-	1778 S.A. >
334.	Agustín Sánchez	-	1773 S.A. >
335.	Beatrice Sánchez	12	1792 Nacogdoches
336.	Juan Jose Sánchez	29	1792 Nacogdoches >
337.	Luis Sánchez	8	1792 Nacogdoches
338.	Luisa Sánchez	19	1792 Nacogdoches
339.	Marciano Sánchez	3	1792 Nacogdoches
340.	Maria Rafacla Sánchez	47	1792 Nacogdoches (see also 1793)
341.	Maria Sánchez	1	1792 Nacogdoches
342.	Maria Sánchez	1	1792 Nacogdoches
343.	Manuel Sánchez	40	1792 Nacogdoches
344.	Matias Sánchez	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) >`
345.	Pedro Sánchez	-	1773 S.A. >
346.	Santa Sánchez	1	1792 Nacogdoches
347.	Antonio de San Miguel	-	1778 S.A. <
348.	Prudencio de San Miguel	-	1778 S.A. <
349.	Raphael de San Miguel	-	1778 S.A. <
350.	Agustín San Miguel	6	1792 Nacogdoches
351.	Candido San Miguel	-	1773 S.A. >
352.	Nepomuceno San Miguel	3	1792 Mission S.A. de Valero
353.	Vicente San Miguel	19	1792 Nacogdoches
354.	Francisco Santa Cruz	30	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
355.	Jose Antonio Santa Cruz	7	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
356.	Juan Joseph Santa Cruz	-	1773 S.A. >
357.	Juana Santa Cruz	7	1792 Nacogdoches
358.	Juana Santa Cruz	1	1792 Nacogdoches
359.	Manuel Santa Cruz	19	1792 Nacogdoches
360.	Marcos Santa Cruz	2	1792 Nacogdoches
361.	Maria Santa Cruz	1	1792 Nacogdoches
362.	Mariano Santa Cruz	19	1792 Nacogdoches
363.	Pedro Santa Cruz	-	1792 S.A. (soldier)*
364.	Manuel de los Santos	5	1793 S.A.
365.	Christobal de Santiago	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
366.	Facundo de Santiago	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
367.	Joaquin de Santiago	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
368.	Victor de Santiago	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
369.	Jose Maria Sierra	22	1792 Nacogdoches (soldier) `
370.	Juana Maria Sierra	14	1792 Nacogdoches
371.	Maria Antonia Sierra	40	1792 Nacogdoches
372.	Bartolomé de Sierra	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
373.	Felipe de Sierra	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
374.	Maria Josepha de Sierra	46	1793 Nacogdoches
375.	Paula de Sierra	27	1792 S.A.
376.	Pedro de Sierra	73	1773 S.A. >
377.	Bartolomé de Soto	44	1792 Nacogdoches
378.	Loreta de Soto	24	1792 Nacogdoches
379.	Bartolo Soto	-	1773 S.A. >
380.	Gregorio Soto	20	1792 Nacogdoches >
381.	Paula Soto	10	1792 Nacogdoches
382.	Francisco de Torres	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > <`
383.	Jose de Torres	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
384.	Jose de Torres	1	1792 Nacogdoches
385.	Josepha de Torres	30	1792 Nacogdoches
386.	Juan de Torres	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) <`

387.	Lazaro de Torres	-	1773 S.A. > <
388.	Luciana de Torres	38	1793 S.A.
389.	Juan de Tovar	-	1773 S.A. >
390.	Manuel de Trejo	31	1782 S.A. > <
391.	Vicente Trejo	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
392.	Antonio Treviño	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
393.	Jose Miguel Treviño	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
394.	Joseph Valentin [Balentin]	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
395.	Andres del Valle	32	1791 S.A. (soldier) ~ `
396.	Ambrosio Vasquez [Basques]	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
397.	Juana Vasquez	3	1792 Nacogdoches
398.	Mariano Vasquez	11	1792 Nacogdoches
399.	Juana Vega	20	1792 Nacogdoches
400.	Rita Vergara	33	1793 Nacogdoches
401.	Cayetano Villafranca	13	1792 Nacogdoches
402.	Francisco Villa Alpando	10	1792 Nacogdoches
403.	Francisco Villa-Real [Villarreal]	-	1778 S.A. (soldier) < `
404.	Antonio Villarreal	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
405.	Morenciana Villarreal	10	1793 S.A.
406.	Antonio Gil Ybarbo	44	1792 Nacogdoches >
407.	Feliciana Ybarbo	1	1792 Nacogdoches
408.	Jose Ybarbo	9	1792 Nacogdoches
409.	Juan Antonio Ybarbo	-	1780 S.A. (soldier) `
410.	Marcos Y'Barbo (son of Antonio Gil Ybarbo)	-	(x)
411.	Maria Antonia Ybarbo	46	1792 Nacogdoches
412.	Maria Antonia Ybarbo (daughter of Antonio Gil Ybarbo)	21	1792 Nacogdoches (x)
413.	Maria Josepha Ybarbo (daughter of Antonio Gil Ybarbo)	18	(x)
414.	Mariano Ybarbo (son of Antonio Gil Ybarbo)	23	(x)
415.	Martín Ybarbo	6	1792 Nacogdoches
416.	Ponciano Ybarbo	1	1792 Nacogdoches
417.	Tomas Ybarbo	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
418.	Tiburcia Ybarbo	4	1792 Nacogdoches
419.	Ancelma Zepeda	17	1793 S.A.
420.	Francisco Xavier Zepeda	-	1780 S.A. `
421.	Jose Zepeda [de Zepeda]	-	1773 S.A. (soldier) > `
422.	Manuela Zepeda	-	1793 S.A.
423.	Maria Zepeda	2	1811 La Bahía
424.	Vicente Zepeda	-	1773 S.A. >

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Willie Atkinson Thorp, "Chireno and Her People," in *Memories of Chireno* (Chireno, 1994), p. 44. I wish to express my thanks to Ms. Thorp, a member of the Chireno Historical Society, for bringing this wonderful red book to my attention. The name "Chireno" appeared with two different spellings in the Spanish archives, alternating from the original "Chirinos" to "Chirino." Many other names in Spanish archival sources also underwent various spellings; for example, Gonzalez to Gonzales, and especially the Ybarbo surname. Spanish officials and witnesses in legal proceedings, who signed on behalf of residents, were inconsistent with usage.

<sup>2</sup>James L. McCorkle, Jr., "Los Adaes and the Borderlands Origins of East Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal* 22 (1984), p. 4. For background on Antonio Gil Ybarbo, see Donald E.

Chipman and Harriett Denise Joseph, *Notable Men and Women of Spanish Texas* (Austin, 1999), pp. 192-201.

<sup>7</sup>Relacion y Extracto de los Soldados de la Compania de este Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, 1734-1736. *Archivo General de México - Historia* (AGM-Historia). Catholic Archives of Texas ("CAT"), Austin, Box 38, Folder 4c, pp. 176-180, transcription.

<sup>8</sup>Debbie S. Cunningham, "The Domingo Ramón Diary of the 1716 Expedition into the Province of the Tejas Indians: An Annotated Translation," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 110 (July 2006), pp. 49-50.

<sup>9</sup>Declaration, Lt. Pedro de Sierra, *alférez*, from Los Adaes, January 26, 1761, Presidio Los Adaes, Royal investigation into contraband trade, Bexar Archives ("BA"), Microfilm, Reel 9, Frame No. 951.

<sup>10</sup>Testimony, Sgt. Domingo Chirino, December 1, 1766, Presidio Los Adaes, Diligencias Practicadas por el Gobernador de Texas sobre el aprehensión de los generos de contrabando que en ellas se expresan, BA, 10:0444-0466. A Texas Historical Commission marker entitled, "Don Joaquin Crossing on Bedais Trail," stands near the spot where Father Zedano and many Indians, explorers, and traders traveled. The mission and fort at La Bahía were located near present Goliad, Texas.

<sup>11</sup>The appellation of "Adaeseños" refers to former soldiers and residents from Los Adaes. Agustín Rodríguez led a petition effort in 1778 on behalf of fellow Adaeseños seeking suitable lands for subsistence following their forced removal to San Antonio de Béxar in 1773; see Expediente promovido por los vecinos del extinguido Presidio de los Adaes, *Archivo General de Indias - Guadalajara* 267, Mf, Reel 2, Doc. 25, Old Spanish Mission Records ("OSMR"), Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.

<sup>12</sup>Valuation of Goods and Bill of Sale, Governor Martos y Navarrete, December 3, 1766, Presidio Los Adaes, BA, 10:0449-0450; Order, Governor Martos y Navarrete, Sale of French tobacco seized from Fr. Zedano, December 2, 1766, Presidio Los Adaes, *Archivo de la Secretaria de Gobierno*, Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico, Mf, Reel 1, Frame No. 576, OSMR.

<sup>13</sup>Testimony, Fr. Francisco Xavier de la Concepción, December 4, 1766, Presidio Los Adaes, BA, 10:0452. Author's translation.

<sup>14</sup>Petition, Sgt. Domingo Chirinos to His Most Excellency Sir, viceroy Marqués de Croix, June 15, 1768, Presidio Los Adaes, BA, 10:0579-0580. Author's translation.

<sup>15</sup>Testimony, don Domingo Chirino, sergant, October [?] 1768, appearing before Governor O'Conor, Presidio Los Adaes, BA, 10:0582-0583; Testimony, Lt. Joseph Gonzales, February 1, 1769, BA, 10:0583-0584; Order, Governor don Hugo O'Conor, February 3, 1769, BA, 10:0584-0585.

<sup>16</sup>Mediation, don Eliseo Antonio Llana de Vergara, with Power of Attorney for the soldiers from Presidio Los Adaes, appearing before viceroy don Carlos Francisco de Croix, the Marqués de Croix, May 28, 1770, Mexico City, BA, 10:0723-0725. The "protector mediador" in litigation proceedings among Spanish subjects was similar to the "protector de indios," a crown-appointed official who represented Indians in formal litigation: see Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain* (Albuquerque, 1995), p. 88.

<sup>17</sup>Complaint, don Juan Antonio Amorin, May 6, 1755, Presidio Los Adaes, before Governor don Jacinto de Barrios y Jauregui, BA, 9:0591-0592; Declaration, Amorin, May 8, 1755, Presidio Los Adaes, BA, 9:0597; Petition, Andres Chirino, May 17, 1768, Presidio Los Adaes, before don Hugo O'Conor, BA, 9:0625-27. Author's translation.

<sup>18</sup>Letter, Marqués de Aranda, fiscal, to don Domingo Valcarel, auditor de la Guerra, January 20, 1756, Mexico City, BA, 9:0643-0646; Letter, Marqués de Amarillas, viceroy, to Governor Barrios y Jáuregui, February 23, 1756, Mexico City, BA, 9:0673. Shortly after his desertion to Natchitoches, De Soto married Marie des Neges de St. Denis, whose parents were Louis de St. Denis (the elder), founder of the French fort in 1714, and Manuela Sanchez Navarro, daughter of a Spanish commandant at Presidio San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

<sup>16</sup>Petition, Andres Chirino, May 17, 1768, Los Adaes, BA, 9:0627. Author's translation.

<sup>16</sup>BA, 9:0626. Author's translation.

<sup>17</sup>BA, 9:0630-0631.

<sup>18</sup>David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman, 1971), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup>Carl J. Ekberg, *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times* (Urbana and Chicago, 1998), p. 160; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1982), p. 24.

<sup>20</sup>Francis X. Galán, "Last Soldiers, First Pioneers: The Los Adaes Border Community on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1721-1779," Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>21</sup>Declaracion del Reo (Defendant), Juan Chirinos, January 16, 1772, Royal Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar. Governor Baron de Ripperdá of Texas vs. Juan Chirinos in the murder of Cristóbal Carvajal, BA, 11:0121. Author's translation.

<sup>22</sup>Order, Governor Ripperdá, June 22, 1772, Presidio San Antonio de Bexar, BA, 11:0153. Three of Carvajal's aunts had sought justice in this case, December 17, 1772, San Antonio de Béxar, BA, 11:0298. Author's translation.

<sup>23</sup>Letter, Domingo Valcarcel, auditor, to Governor Ripperdá, April 29, 1772, with approval of decision by Viceroy Bucareli, Mexico City, BA, 11:0152. Author's translation.

<sup>24</sup>Order, Governor Ripperdá setting Juan Chirino free to continue royal military service, June 22, 1772, Presidio San Antonio de Béxar, BA, 11:0153.

<sup>25</sup>Testimony and Request to move from San Antonio de Béxar to the abandoned Mission Dolores de los Ais, October 4, 1773, *AGM-Historia*, Box 31. Folder 3, pp. 314-317, transcription.

<sup>26</sup>Statement of sums due soldiers from abandoned Presidio Los Adaes, November 28, 1780, San Antonio de Béxar, BA, 14:0704-0705.

<sup>27</sup>H. Sophie Burton, "To Establish a Stock Farm for the Raising of Mules, Horses, Cattle, Sheep, and Hogs": The Role of Spanish Bourbon Louisiana in the Establishment of Vacheries along the Louisiana-Texas Borderland, 1766-1803," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 109 (July 2005), p. 122. For further discussion of removal from Los Adaes and the return to East Texas, see Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Austin, 1970; originally published, 1915), pp. 387-446.

<sup>28</sup>Daniel Williams, "Scenes From a Small Town: Early Times in Chireno, Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal* 44 (Spring 2006), p. 56.

<sup>29</sup>Ojas de Servicios, Juan Chirino, December 31, 1791, La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, place of birth: the former Presidio Los Adaes, *Archivo General de Simancas*, Spain, OSMR, Mf, Reel 1, G.M. Leg. 7047-225;

<sup>30</sup>Census, La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, January 4, 1811, "Statistical and General Census Reports of Texas," Mf 79.52, Reel 2, Frame Nos. 255-304, translation, microfilm edition of Bexar Archives, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

<sup>31</sup>Census, San Fernando de Austria (San Antonio de Béxar), December 31, 1795, BA, Mf, Reel 1, Frame Nos. 753-801. For discussion about Adaeseños in San Antonio, see Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque, 1995), pp. 84-86.

<sup>32</sup>McCorkle, "Los Adaes and the Borderlands Origins of East Texas," p. 10.

<sup>33</sup>Thorp, "Chireno and Her People," p. 44, mentions a few members of the Chireno family still living in Nacogdoches County.

<sup>34</sup>List compiled by author, October 2005. S.A. is abbreviated for San Antonio de Béxar. Additional Spanish archival sources for the List with asterisks:

- > Testimony, Request of Adaeseños to leave San Antonio de Béxar and settle at the abandoned Mission
 

Dolores de los Ais [East Texas], October 4, 1773, San Antonio de Béxar, *AGM-Historia*, Vol. 84, CAT, Box 31, Folder 3, 315-317, Transcription.
- < Testimony, Request of residents from extinguished Presidio Los Adaes for concession of a location where they can subsist with their families. January 4, 1778, San Antonio de Béxar, made to Commandant General de Croix, *Archivo General de Indias – Audiencia de Guadalajara*, OSMR, 267, Mf, Roll 2, Document No. 25, 1-6: see also *AGI – Guadalajara*, legajo 103-4-9, in CAT, Box 10, Folder 3, 69-72, Transcription.
- ^ Petition, Gil Morin, to retire from military service, September 26, 1779, San Antonio de Béxar, after having served at Presidio Los Adaes under Governor Barrios y Jáuregui until 1773, and voluntarily in Béxar, *Bexar Archives*, Mf, Roll 13, Frame Nos. 0117-0118.
- ^ Petition, Jose Maria Rodriguez, to retire from military service, September 30, 1779, San Antonio de Béxar, after having served at Presidio Los Adaes and Béxar over twenty years, BA, Mf, 13:0123-0124.
- ˆ Statement of sums due soldiers of abandoned Presidio Los Adaes, November 28, 1780, San Antonio de Béxar, BA, Mf, Roll 14, Frame Nos. 0704-0705.
- + Proceedings concerning payment to soldiers of the abandoned presidio of Los Adaes, February 13, 1782, San Antonio de Béxar, signed by Luis Antonio Menchaca, BA, Mf, Roll 15, Frame Nos. 0049-0050.
- Ojas de Servicio, Martin de Castro, December 6, 1791, San Antonio de Béxar, hijo de Jose, natural del Real Presidio de los Adaes, de edad de 21, sentó de soldado de esta Compania de San Antonio de Bexar el dia primero de Julio de 1764, *Archivo General de Simancas [AGS] – Spain*, OSMR, Mf, Roll 1, G.M. Leg. 7047-212.
- Ojas de Servicio, Juan Chirino, December 31, 1791, La Bahía del Espiritu Santo, su pais: el Presidio que fue de los Adaes, *AGS – Spain*, Mf, Roll 1, G.M. Leg. 7047-225.
- Ojas de Servicio, Andres del Valle, December 6, 1791, San Antonio de Béxar, su pais: La Villa de Linares, served twenty-four years, three months, and eighteen days at Presidio Los Adaes and Béxar, *AGS – Spain*, Mf, Roll 1, G.M. Leg. 7047-208.
- \* Noticias que dan los individuos de la Compania del Real Presidio de los Adaes, residentes en este de San Antonio de Bexas, sobre el pagamento que se les hizo de sus Alcances en tiempo que se extinguió, 1792, San Antonio de Béxar, *Bexar Archives*, Mf, Roll 22, Frame Nos. 1005-1006, 1009 (Pedro Gonzalez and Gil Morin were in Nacogdoches).
- (x) Ybarbo Family Genealogy. *Antonio Gil Y'Barbo Collection*. Stephen F. Austin State University, Special Collections, Nacogdoches, Texas, A-175, Box 2, Folder 2.

**DAN UTLEY NEVER PICKED COTTON**

*By Archie P. McDonald*

**Editor's Note:** The following is Dr. Archie McDonald's Saturday luncheon address at the ETHA Spring meeting in Tyler, Texas. Dr. McDonald became the Executive Director of the East Texas Historical Association in 1971, as, he enjoys pointing out, the "interim director." After thirty-seven years of "interim" work, a tenure that has seen the Association grow into the second largest historical society in the state (only the Texas State Historical Association has more members), he has decided to hand the position over to a West Texan of all things. I would be remiss if I did not pay Dr. McDonald the proper respect of hailing his tenure, something that his grace and humility will not allow him to do.

Unlike so many of our members, I did not have the pleasure of knowing Dr. McDonald for decades. Like many people, I knew "of" Archie McDonald before I "knew" Archie McDonald. What I did know "of" him was, to be honest, somewhat intimidating to a recently minted professional historian. His reputation was well-known and sweeping – one of the most pre-eminent Texas historians, a former president of the Texas State Historical Association, author and editor of an entire library of books, and, of course, the "face" of the East Texas Historical Association. The public reputation is familiar to many.

But in the last year, I have come to actually "know" Archie McDonald, and the man I now appreciate is more than his public persona. He has first and foremost been a diligent and passionate advocate and caretaker of your Association. When he made a decision, you could rest assured that he had the Association's best interests in mind. More than that, he has been a kind and patient mentor, ready and willing to assist in any way he can to help the transition of the Association. Of course, as many of you would tell me, I should have expected no less. The East Texas Historical Association could not have had a better and more able Director, and it is by far the better due to his leadership.

Dr. McDonald may be stepping down from his post as Executive Director of the East Texas Historical Association, but his influence and his wisdom will forever remain. He will continue to be the first person I ask for advice and counsel, recommendations that will be both welcome and seriously accepted. No one should consider this a "retirement address;" for me it will be much closer to George Washington's "Farewell Address," a charge to remember the importance of the ideals the Association is built upon and what it should always aspire to be. I think I can speak for all members when I say, "Thank you Archie for all that you have done and what you have meant to us. We will never forget the lessons that you have taught us."

**Linda Cross** asked me to present this luncheon talk because Will Jennings backed out. I don't mind being second with Linda; that's still pretty high on the mountain. And I welcome her charge to pronounce a blessing of

transition on Dr. Scott Sosebee, who will become our Association's director soon. More on this point in a few minutes.

But before that, we have a few other things to consider: first, the title for this talk, "Dan Utley Never Picked Cotton," has nothing to do with what follows, except I substituted Dan's name for Steve Allen in the title of Dan's own presidential address presented by Cynthia Beeman while he still had the gall to lay around a hospital in Round Rock, gall-less. The substance of Dan's presentation equaled the title in provocation of interest, so I decided to borrow it, but not be bound by its message. I will say, however, that Immediate Past President Dan Utley is a prince of a fellow, a valued friend to us all, and we thank him for his leadership and especially for his support of we few office staff.

(Now: what follows is a State of The Association At The Transition Report):

In other writings, meetings, and within the pages of the *Journal* we have remembered the pioneering role of the Rev. George Crocket, Episcopal priest and instructor of history at Stephen F. Austin Teachers College, who organized the first East Texas Historical Association in the 1920s, which went out of business in 1932 thanks to the legacy of the Republican Ascendancy during the previous decade, leaving only three \$100 bonds and a box of its bulletins, or journals as souvenirs. Ruth Chamberlain presented those bonds to me from Charlie Chamberlain's files after his passing in 1972, and they helped pay for an issue of the *Journal*. Ralph Goodwin gave us the bulletins a few years later.

We also remembered Drs. Ralph W. Steen and C.K. Chamberlain, and attorneys F.I. Tucker and F. Lee Lawrence, the four Godfathers who founded the present Association. Chamberlain reprised Crocket's call, summoning all patriotic and interested citizens to muster in Nacogdoches on September 29, 1962, to re-organize an East Texas Historical Association. Steen offered money to publish the *Journal* and Chamberlain's time to edit it and empresario Fall and Spring meetings, the first always in Nacogdoches, the second always elsewhere in East Texas. Lawyers Tucker and Lawrence drafted a constitution and incorporation papers and obtained a federal, non-profit tax number; such foresight blesses us still. Their constitution ruled our proceedings until Dr. James Reese revised and modernized it in 1982.

Charter membership remained open a year, so 425 East Texans mustered for the cut; few are left – Ralph Wooster is the only one I know for certain, but there may be others. Lawrence served as first president and thereafter as a board member until his death in 1997. Since Lawrence's initial term, we have made a conscious – even earnest – effort, to alternate presidencies, board memberships, and committee assignments between lay and teaching historians, and to have both represented as authors of articles and reviews in the *Journal*.

Chamberlain retired in 1971. That's when Lawrence and Steen asked me to succeed him – Lawrence made crystal clear – on an interim basis. That

interim ends on August 31st next, the longest in University history at thirty-seven years and fourteen days.

The Association still headquarters on the Stephen F. Austin State University campus and its director and editor must be a faculty member at the host institution, a constitutional requirement. We occupy a three-room suite in the Ferguson Building. The University pays the salary of the director and secretary, who is also the Association's treasurer, the light and phone bills, and provides us computers through my sinecure with the History Department. The Association pays the remainder of its obligations.

For the first two decades the director received a one-course reduction to work for the Association and had the assistance of a half-time secretary; later, the secretary got to work longer hours and the director fewer, going first to a two-course reduction, and in 2006, to teaching only one course in the now kaput Voluntary Modified Appointment program.

Twenty-one ladies have held the post of secretary, one as briefly as four months, and the best, Mrs. Portia Gordon, nearly thirteen years.

In 1971, we had a bank balance of approximately \$1,500 – enough for one more issue of the *Journal*. Thursday, your treasurer reported a total of **\$455,459.00** to the Board of Directors. By design, approximately 80% of that endows various programs and awards.

In 1971, the *Journal's* "March" and "October" issues came out about a year behind schedule. Dr. Steen ordered us to correct that. He agreed to pay the secretary's salary, a reversal of previous practice, and let the Association pay the printer so we could publish the *Journal* through the most cooperative jobber we could find. That turned out to be, and remains, Craftsman Printers of Lubbock, a firm so large I have wondered why they bother with us. One reason is owner Ronald Peters, with whom I did business for more than thirty years before we met, in that old-fashioned Texas way of people saying what they mean and meaning what they say, even on the telephone. The Board knows this, but you may not; Ronald prints the *Journal* for the same fee we paid in 2003, when gasoline cost about \$1.50 for a gallon. Partly that's technology and partly it's Mrs. Gordon doing more of the work, but it remains a miracle.

In 1971, membership hovered around 100; now we have at least **594 members**, and at last, racial diversity.

In 1971, the Board met early of a Saturday morning, followed by 9:00 and 10:45 a.m. sessions, and a luncheon. In the 1980s we moved to Friday afternoon, and then all day Friday sessions, and since the mid-1990s in the Fall, to Thursday afternoon sessions and the Lale Lecture in the evening.

Attendance responds to multiple variables, but here, in Tyler, we once registered only twenty-five people; we had expected fifty but a big storm blew through East Texas on Friday night, discouraging the faint of heart. Now we average above 150 at Spring meetings – the count for 2008 in Tyler stands at **175** – and have registered more than 200 attendees the last two Fall meetings.



Dues remain modest, beginning at \$5 per annum in 1962 and advancing by steps to \$25, and meeting registration has remained at \$25 for a decade. Dues largely cover a subscription to the *Journal* and the registration fee covers other meeting expenses, such as \$21.24 a gallon coffee and \$19.00 a dozen for pastries at this meeting. We work hard to keep meal costs below \$20, succeed most of the time, and hope you will remember that whatever the cost that it includes a compulsory 18% or larger gratuity.

Programmatic changes are significant:

The C.K. Chamberlain Award, the idea of Past President Joe White, honors the "best" article in the *Journal* annually;

Fellows, restricted to twenty-five members who have written much and well about East Texas;

The Best of East Texas Award, funded and presented by Bob and Doris Bowman as lifetime achievement recognition for a distinguished East Texan;

The Ralph W. Steen Award, honoring one who has contributed significantly to the Cause in ways other than writing; and

The Lucille Terry Award, named for a preservation dynamo in Jefferson, Texas, to say "thank you" for an outstanding restoration project.

And we publish more. The Ann and Lee Lawrence East Texas History Series, now with seven volumes, are site-specific monographs on topics of historical – and historic – interest, such as Robert Glover's Camp Ford: Tyler, Texas, CSA, funded through an endowment from Ann and Lee Lawrence, and subsequent sales; and

The Bob and Doris Bowman East Texas History Series which features fuller and more detailed monographs, with two volumes in print – Bill O'Neal's *War In East Texas: Regulator vs Moderators*, and James Smallwood, Ken Howell, and Carol Taylor, authors of *The Devil's Triangle: Ben Bickerstaff, Northeast Texans, And The War Of Reconstruction In Texas*.

We sponsor, with Max's money, the Lale Lectures and bring such prominent figures as Bill Moyers, filmmaker David Grubin, and scholars James Robertson and William Seale to our meetings and SFA's campus. The lecturer for 2008 will be Dr. Don Graham, professor of Southwestern literature at The University of Texas.

With support from foundations and individuals, we have sponsored symposia on Sacred Harp Music, The Neches River, Paper Making in East Texas, last year "The Legacy of Arthur Temple," and, in April 2008, in Jasper, a study of the Toledo Bend project.

And the crown jewel of our endowments, The Ottis Lock Endowment Awards, which annually honors an outstanding educator, book, and provides research grants to encourage more "best books." Funds came exclusively from Mr. Lock's friends and the Pineywoods Foundation.

Our institutional affiliation is firm; SFAs President Baker Pattillo, Provost

Richard Berry, Dean Brian Murphy, and History Chairman Troy Davis seem well disposed to keeping the Association on campus.

Which brings me, finally to The Promised Transition.

Near the beginning of this millennium, Dr. Mark Barringer joined the History Department with a partial assignment to work as associate director/editor until the director/editorship became vacant. Mark took hold with a will, but two things derailed that plan. First, I did not retire as quickly as some assumed and others may have hoped would be the case; and second, Mark's competence was noticed by Dean James Standley, who wooed him with more reduced time, money, and responsibility, into an associate deanship. Last September, that position advanced to full-time employment with Dean Murphy.

Fortunately, also last year, the History Department hired Dr. Scott Sosebee to teach Texas history when Mark or I did not, since it must be offered every semester. From the git go, then, Scott really is more of a genuine, trained historian of Texas history than either Mark or I. And, Scott was willing. So last September, the Board appointed Scott to that waiting associate-ship with a clear understanding that this time the waiting surely would end on September 1 – this year, when my VME appointment goes *sine die*.

Actually, the process began last September and accelerates after this meeting. Scott already handles all the editing except book reviews, which I still do as they come into the office as a matter of convenience, but he is deciding who many of the reviewers will be. Scott was part of every major program or site decision regarding this meeting, and this will be complete for the Fall meeting. It is crucial that the person charged with trying to keep you untroubled by hotel glitches and similar but inevitable problems, be involved completely in all the planning. Scott has been, and will continue to be so involved.

Scott has my unqualified endorsement and pledge of cooperation. After August, Scott will have to ask; until then, I'll offer plenty of "free advice," with the caveat that such will be worth just what he pays for it!

I could not close without paying tribute to Mrs. Portia Gordon, my friend and office partner for a dozen or more years. Mrs. Gordon has been, altogether, the perfect office partner. By now, we know each other's family troubles and general interests, and I stand in awe of her remarkable memory for names and general "people skills." It has not escaped my notice, or that of others, that attendance at meetings picked up considerably after Mrs. Gordon took over registration and the general administration of meetings.

And, we got Charlie Gordon in the bargain to video Lale Lectures, assemble and disassemble easels, lug boxes of registration materials, and generally be available for whatever needs doing – all this for an extra chocolate dessert.

I'll not make recommendations for what to drop or to carry on or to expand other than what I recommended to your Board on Thursday. You have a competent new director and a Board determined to advance the Association.

I hope you agree that all is well now, and join me in confident expectation that all will only get better.

And you know, on second thought, it does not matter that Dan Utley never picked cotton. He turned out pretty well anyway. But...

There are all kinds of Farewells, from "You're not going to have Dick Nixon to kick around anymore," to Robert E. Lee's "After...years of arduous service...I bid you a fond and affectionate farewell," to Douglas MacArthur's "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away." None of these are appropriate today. I am not planning to go away, corpulence suggests that I'm far from fading, and "arduous service" hardly applies – those thirty-seven years were and mostly still are fun. I once lived on a farm and my father-in-law, B. L. Barrett took me to the woods to clear and develop land, so I have seen real work once or twice...serving as director of the East Texas Historical Association is fun. I work in air conditioning and wear a suit doing it.

Finally, veteran hearers of my reports to the Board of Directors have noted that they usually concluded with a metaphor that "the ship sails on." There are reasons why I have associated seafaring with this service, beginning with the "sailing" concept of a continuum of ports of call in Beaumont, Galveston, Huntsville, College Station, Marshall, Tyler, and other places, and a home mooring in Nacogdoches. And then there are these words of Grady Nutt: "Not our choice the wind's direction, unforeseen the calm or gale, Thy great ocean swells before us, and our ship seems small and frail. Fierce and gleaming is Thy mystery, drawing us to shores unknown; plunge us on with hope and courage, 'til Thy harbor is our home!"

No longer the wanderer and with MY home port in sight, my wish for the Association and for each of you, is – "Bon Voyage!"

**EAST TEXAS NEWS AND NOTES**

*By M. Scott Sosebee*

The East Texas Historical Association held its spring meeting on February 14-16 in Tyler at the Holiday Inn Select. Once again, attendance was high and enthusiasm even higher. The program began on Thursday with a unique and welcome presentation by Dr. Gordon Jones, a San Augustine native, former Lufkin radiologist, and current resident of Broadus, Texas, on Lake Sam Rayburn. Dr. Jones regaled board members and early-arriving members with his original "cowboy poetry" on "Cowboys, Indians, and Louis L'Amour." His presentation was most definitely a hit and perhaps he will entertain us with a longer program at a future meeting.

The meeting's full program began bright and early on Friday morning at 8:00 and closed with the luncheon session on Saturday. Program chairs Linda Cross and Jeff Owens arranged twenty sessions ranging from the history of the Tyler Rose Festival to the unique development of sacred harp singing. The approximately two hundred attendees were all treated to sessions that presented variety, interest, and plain "old fashioned" fun. Dr. Jimmy Bryan, Jr., of Lamar University gave the keynote speech at Friday night's banquet entitled "Manly Tales and Texas Lore – Walter P. Lane and the Storytelling Traditions of Nineteenth Century Adventurism," a well-received talk that was a provocative insight into how the historical tradition of "adventurism" creates legends and myths that often find their way into the historical record as fact. The highlight of the meeting was the Saturday luncheon and our Executive Director, Dr. Archie P. McDonald's address, "Dan Utley Never Picked Cotton" (the text of that message is included in the current edition of the *Journal*). To say that his talk was well-received does not do it justice as Dr. McDonald was feted with a standing ovation, a deserved "log cabin" award for his thirty-seven years of fabulous and dedicated service, and even a chorus of "For He's A Jolly Good Fellow." All who attended were no doubt touched not only by Dr. McDonald's gracious speech but also by the heartfelt appreciation for him by ETHA's members.

An ETHA meeting would not be complete without awards and the Tyler meeting was no exception. The Lucille Terry Award went to Rob and Becky Wangner for their amazing preservation of Tyler's historic Fitzgerald House. The Wangner's (along with curator Linda Miller) devoted efforts to restore and save such a notable structure was truly inspiring. Last but certainly not least, the Ralph W. Steen Award went to Ms. Portia Gordon, the Association's long-time secretary/treasurer, an award that was overdue and most decidedly well deserved. As most of you no doubt know, Portia is the person who keeps the ETHA office organized and efficient; I would say a "well-oiled machine," and it would be if Dr. McDonald and I did not so often keep Ms. Gordon from her duties. I can say without hesitation that our meetings, programs, finances, and the *Journal* owe most of their proficiency and professionalism to Portia's tireless service and allegiance.

The ETHA Board of Directors have approved the appointment of three new members to the *Journal's* editorial board. We welcome the additions of Dr. Dana Cooper of Stephen F. Austin State University, Dr. Charles Gear of Prairie View A&M University, and Dr. Gene Preuss of the University of Houston-Downtown.

Association members should take note of an event that should be of interest. The National Cowboy Symposium and Celebration will hold its 20th annual event September 5-7, 2008, at the Civic Center in Lubbock, Texas. The National Cowboy Symposium is the largest of its kind and features exhibits, chuckwagon cooking demonstrations, music, cowboy poetry, and historical presentations. It is truly a "one-of-a-kind" experience and something you have to see to fully appreciate. If you are in the Lubbock area, make sure you make plans to attend.

The Texas State Historical Association is currently in the process of moving their headquarters and university affiliation. Since its inception in 1897, TSHA has been housed at the University of Texas, but UT has made the decision of ending its tenure as TSHA's host institution. TSHA has moved to temporary headquarters in the Austin area with the anticipation of making a permanent move to another location and university. As we go to press, the TSHA board has recommended locating their offices at the University of North Texas in Denton. Full approval is scheduled to take place at the TSHA annual meeting in March. So a final decision on the move should have taken place by the time we publish the *Journal*.

The History Center at Diboll, one of the true "gems" of East Texas, currently has on display an intriguing and worthwhile exhibit, "The American Lumberman Photographic Collection." The Collection consists of more than 300 vintage prints taken between 1903 and 1907. The images further document the lives and operations of the men and women of the Southern Pine Lumber Company as well as the Texas Southeastern Railroad – the company towns, logging camps, and day-to-day life. The exhibit is certainly worth a look. The History Center is located off Hwy. 59 on the east side of Diboll. You can contact them at 936-829-3543, and best of all, admission is free.

**BOOK NOTES**

By Archie P. McDonald

The *Journal* publishes thirty or more book reviews each issue, and offers these notices and notes for as many other fine publications as possible. For example....

*Scrapbook of Traditions, Annals, and History: Collin County from 1846 to 1880*. The George Pearis Brown Papers, edited by Helen Gibbard Hill and Donald R. Hoke and annotated by Houston Mount (North Texas History Center, 300 East Virginia, McKinney, TX 75069-4325, \$39), offers a potpourri of all things historical about the north central Texas county from a muster roll of Captain Andrew Stapp's Company of Mounted Volunteers in the Mexican-American War to a description of the Bass House School. Lives touched by that history will enjoy these old pictures and accounts of life in Collin County.

*Doug Welsh's Texas Garden Almanac*, illustrated by Aletha St. Romain (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354, \$24.95) is a great big book that offers a review of duties and opportunities for Texas gardeners, year 'round. Chapter titles for monthly coverage are descriptive – "February: Hints of Spring, Reminders of Winter" to August: Hot, Hot, Hot, and Dry Too!" Each concludes with a "Timely Tips" section. St. Romain's colorful illustrations are wonderful. The text is full of "how to" and "when to" information, plus such wisdom as "Squirrels – Love 'em or Hate 'em. There seems to be no in between. You either enjoy squirrels coexisting with your feathered friends, or you despise them as selfish pigs in fur coats." Makes a wonderful retirement/birthday/Christmas gift – depending on when you see this notice – for many Texas historians who also like to garden.

Verne Lindquist's blurb suggests that Jim Dent's *Twelve Mighty Orphans: The Inspiring True Story Of The Mighty Mites Who Ruled Texas Football* (St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10010-7848) "...might be the best sports book ever written." Without going that far, especially since I don't read that many books about sports, I agree that this is a mighty fine book. That judgment depends less on Dent's skills as a writer and more on the power of the story. That twelve – at a time, at least – kids we might smugly call "disadvantaged" accomplished so much over a decade seems little short of miraculous. Better, though, is to recognize it as a triumph of the human spirit. The mainest hero of Dent's history of the several football teams of the Masonic Home and School in Fort Worth is their coach, Harvey Naul "Rusty" Russell, who doubtless made significant financial sacrifice to remain with his orphans so long. But all of the Mighty Mites were heroes, too, and we can thank Dent for telling their story. A word about the book's most enigmatic personality, Hardy Brown, hero with a villainous side. At least the Masons gave him a chance, and so they are heroes, too. Finally, the value of reading the Author's Notes, often skipped, is finding a nugget like this: "Now it will be up to Joe Rinaldi, the best book publicist in the business, to make sure the damn thing

sells. Amen. Jim Dent." Amen, indeed. Authors everywhere understand.

*The Greatest Texas Sports Stories You've Never Heard*, by Al Pickett with foreword by Dave Campbell (State House Press, McMurry University, Box 637 McMurry Station, Abilene, TX 79697-0637, \$14.95), is a collection of Pickett's stories from sports activities he covered for both press and radio. Nearly fifty vignettes range from football to baseball to basketball to track & field to coaches and coaching to...whatever happened to Texas, mostly in Texas, in sports. My initial impression was that women's sports were slighted a bit, but I decided that that reflects the reality of amateur and professional athletes in Texas and elsewhere until about three decades ago. There is no mention of Mildred "Babe" Didrickson Zaharias, but that could mean that Pickett never met her or saw her compete. Several articles do feature "Slinging" Sammy Baugh, the star quarterback of the TCU Horned Frogs and the (ugh!) Washington Redskins. Fanatics of sports in and of Texas will love the breath and personal involvement of the reporter with his stories.

A tradition continues: *Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year, 2008 Edition*, edited by Charles Brooks (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St, Gretna, LA 70053-2246, \$14.95), thirty-seventh annual collection of wit, barb, and caricature of presidents, Congress, the church, celebrities – anything – newsworthy, and apparently the more pompous the better. As usual, the volume leads with award-winning cartoons from the Pulitzer to the Herblock Award. What follows is categories according to the news of 2007: The Presidential Campaign (pinpricking every candidate); The Bush Administration: Iraq/Terrorism; Immigration (especially "the Wall"); Congress; Crime; The Economy – (is that redundant?); Foreign Affairs; Health/Environment; Media/Entertainment (Brittany Spears and Anna Nicole some more); Society; Sports (mostly about steroids); Space/Travel; Canada; ...and Other Issues; and In Memoriam (the best is about Lady Bird Johnson, with Gerald Ford a close second). A review essay on issues precedes each segment and the cartoons follow without commentary or explanation. Few need any, except I did not "get" some of the fare from "Canada," but that is because I am provincial. As usual, I smiled at the cartoons that appealed to my bias and wondered what the idiots who created cartoons favoring the "other side" were thinking. That is what makes politics and cartoon books about politics successful – we are never going to be in agreement about much. Good, quick review of the year that was.

*Eckhardt: There Once Was A Congressman From Texas*, by Gary A. Keith (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, \$34.95), brings back memories of a different Texas, one before Bush and the Democrats' complete surrender of state and national political officers to born-again Republicans. The subtitle comes from former Senator Ralph Yarborough's plea that Congressman Bob Eckhardt write his memoirs so people could see "there once was a congressman from Texas." Keith also calls Eckhardt everyone's "second congressman," meaning there once was a Texas where you could just choose Eckhardt to be your congressman if you did not

like the one the electorate in your district selected. That resonated, because I did just that, and with Eckhardt, too, because of his interest in the Big Thicket. Why did a congressman from the Eighth District worry about that? Well, mostly because it was good for Texas, so Eckhardt was for it, and being for it, willing to fight for it. Bob Eckhardt may not have been everyone's choice, especially the developers who opposed his open beaches legislation, or oil and gas executives who disfavored his energy policy positions, or businessmen stung by his practice of labor law, or, for that matter, any conservative. Because Bob Eckhardt was one of the last real, honest-to-God liberals in Texas. Eckhardt believed in people and that government existed for their benefit. Not all congressmen from Texas have agreed.

Saturday morning, February 1, 2003, I was preparing breakfast when a "wump, wump, wump" sound thundered above us and whatever did the wumping left a ziz-zag contrail across the eastern sky. CNN was just telling us that contact had been lost with Space Shuttle *Columbia* as it reentered Earth's atmosphere; we soon learned that the loss of a heat shield during launching had caused the *Columbia* to commence disintegration over California. At 17,000 mph, debris rained down on East Texas, the majority of it falling on Nacogdoches, San Augustine, and Sabine counties. Instantly, it seemed, we became the focus of the international media. As it turned out, if *Columbia* had to come down, that was the best place. Dr. James Kroll's Forest Institute already had the capability of providing maps for debris fields, and Nacogdoches also had Mayor Roy Blake Jr., County Judge Sue Kennedy, Sheriff Thomas Kerss, and above all, Home Land Security Manager Robert Hurst to implement Hurst's disaster plan. Hurst has written of those days in *Leadership When The Sky Falls: Leadership Lessons From The Shuttle Columbia Disaster* (AuthorHouse, 1663 Liberty Drive, #200, Bloomington, IN 47403). This is a manual for preparing for disaster management, not a history of the shuttle disaster, but that historic event provided the experiences from which those leadership lessons are drawn. Doing so provides historical context for the event itself.

Over sixty years after its conclusion, World War II has joined the American Civil War as the nation's "other" most studied era. Comes now Stanley Coleman Jersey's *Hells Islands: The Untold Story of Guadalcanal* (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354, \$35), an enormously detailed description of the contest between the Empire of Japan and Allied Forces – especially American Marines – for control of Guadalcanal, the South Pacific, and ultimately the outcome of World War II. Jersey spent forty years researching his subject, including visiting archives and campaign participants in Japan, so the reader gets "both sides of the story." What Franklin Roosevelt called "...the inevitable victory..." on December 8, 1941, did not appear so inevitable from the perspective of the South Pacific islands. Fortunately, suffered hardship and hard fighting did lead to that conclusion.



*Clan Donald*, by Donald J. Macdonald (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St, Gretna, LA 70053-2246, \$75) has an appeal to anyone named McDonald, MacDonald, or Macdonald, for all who come by that name inherit the proud tradition of Clan Donald. This hefty volume follows the development of the Clan from the twelfth century until near the end of the eighteenth century, when the clan system underwent fundamental change. East Texas existed then, of course, a place of interest primarily to Caddo peoples, and, towards the end of it, to Spaniards. But the Americans who occupied East Texas during the next century were predominantly Scot-Irish, the ethnic backbone of the nation. Their progeny continue as the preponderant population at the beginning of the twenty-first century, even as persons of color gain in percentage of population. We are all curious about our roots, just like Alex Haley's *Roots*. In our case, the root rests on Isle of Skye, Scotland, and Cousin Donald J. Macdonald has told the first part of the story in extensive detail. McDonalds, MacDonalds, and Macdonalds, and related peoples, will learn here of their heritage; others may find the traditions of Scotland interesting even if they are named Wojchowitz.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas*, Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, editors (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Contributors. Index. P. 296. \$19.95. Paperback. \$45. Hardcover.

During the 1980s, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and French social scientist Pierre Nora developed the concept of "collective memory," an idea that swept the academic world and seemed particularly apt for Texas. Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner brought together eleven eminent and entertaining authors to produce collective memories that often challenge factual histories.

The articles point out that historians are often ignored by the Texas public who shaped their own version of their pasts. Articles focus on battles fought by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas over who would restore the Alamo, the United Daughters of the Confederacy in their attempts to commemorate Confederate heroes, and the attempts by the Ku Klux Klan to Americanize their message in the 1920s. Comic books and historical paintings depict the racial conflict between Anglos and Mexican-Americans, but these are counter-posed in a chapter on the planned *Tejano* monument on the Capitol grounds. Two excellent essays focus on the views of African Americans on the celebration of Juneteenth, and the conflict between two generations of African Americans over the importance and relevance of the Civil Rights movement. The public memory can also dismiss and destroy famous men and myths. The last chapter, however, holds out hope for historians while admitting the strength of public memory.

These essays provide fascinating insights into the public perception of history. Historians may write, but Texans of all races will continue to maintain their own "collective memory."

Caroline C. Crimm  
Sam Houston State University

*Native American Placenames of the United States*, William Bright (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr., Norman, OK 73069) 2007. Reprint 2004. Contents. Acknowledgments. Pronunciation. Abbreviations. Intro. References. P. 600. \$29.95. Paperback.

This comprehensive dictionary of Native American placenames in the United States collects 12,500 entries from 350 sources and brings them under scrutiny of twelve consulting editors representing scholarship in American Indian linguistics. The result creates an invaluable source for historians, geographers, and onomasticians.

William Bright, editor of several linguistics journals and professor *emeritus* of linguistics and anthropology at UCLA, employed a computerized data base to broaden the scope to a point not previously possible. Although the concentration of Native American placenames in Alaska dominates the study, forty-nine states are surveyed. Hawaii, where Bright considered indigenous language names to be Native American, was excluded because it would have been a duplication of the state's excellent placenames dictionary.

Each entry includes the headword (Nacogdoches), state location on a county, parish, or sectional map (TX, Nacogdoches County), pronunciation, etymology (the plural of Nacogdoche, a division of the Caddo people), source of information, occurrence in other states, and related names.

In addition to expected non-English words from Native American languages (Tawakoni, Navasota, Pottawatomie), are loan translations attempting to reproduce the meaning of the source rather than to replicate sounds (Medicine Lodge), invented words (Texarkana), bogus words (Beechatuda Draw, NM), and folk etymologies (Seneca), representing a phonetic and semantic reformation of the Native American name. Seneca was originally a derogatory word meaning "wood eaters" applied to the Senecas by Algonquian neighbors and later adopted by white settlers as a placename referring to the ancient Roman philosopher and dramatist.

Some names are rather pure Native American forms while others might be viewed as Spanish or French words originating with Indian languages. Thus, Coyote is a Spanish word from Nahuatl (Aztec) coyotl.

Most controversial of all the placenames is Squaw, being replaced on federal maps because some Native American groups consider it offensive. Bright explored the linguistic tempest in "Sociolinguistics of 'the S-Word,' Squaw in American Placenames" in *Names* quarterly, Vol. 48 (2000), pp. 207-216.

As comprehensive and valuable as this dictionary is, additional Native American placenames await retrieval from sources such as *The New Handbook of Texas* and other state studies.

Fred Tarpley  
Campbell, Texas

*It Happened on the Underground Railroad*, Tricia Martineau Wagner (TwoDot, An Imprint of Globe Pequot Press, P.O. Box 480, Guilford, CT 06437) 2007. Contents. Acknowledgments. Map. Biblio. Index. P. 128. \$9.95. Paperback.

Written for a middle school student, *It Happened on the Underground Railroad* is one of a series of "It happened..." and the third by Wagner. After an introduction to the concept of an underground railroad freeing slaves prior to 1865, and a map showing some of the routes, the author provides twenty-three stories of slaves who were able to escape from the South. Although each

is written in a narrative style, which will appeal to its intended audience, each account is based on fact.

Included among the stories is that of Margaret Garner, a slave from Boone County, Kentucky, who cut the throat of her daughter and attempted to kill both her sons because, she said, "she would rather kill her children and herself than return to ... evils of slavery." She and her husband and in-laws, all of whom had tried to escape, were arrested and tried in Cincinnati, Ohio. The family's attorneys, as well as Governor Salmon Chase, tried to prevent the Garners' return to Kentucky and their enslaved state. They were not successful and their owners sold them all into the Deep South, a sure sentence of early death. If Margaret Garner's story sounds familiar it is because Ohio-born author Toni Morrison drew on it to produce her Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *Beloved*, in 1987.

All the stories do not end so tragically. "Read All About it," involves the escape of a young Maryland woman, Lear Green, who spent eighteen hours in an old steamer trunk aboard ship from the Chesapeake Bay to Philadelphia. Aided in her escape by her future mother-in-law, who was a free woman living in New York, Lear so impressed the chairman of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society that he had a photograph made of her exiting from the trunk.

Wagner makes no effort to sugarcoat the horrors of slavery, but she does provide her young readers with examples of courageous men and women, black and white, whose names – Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth, abolitionist Levi Coffin – are familiar to anyone knowledgeable about this period of American history. None of the escapees or their benefactors are Texans. Most Texas slaves who were able to escape headed for Mexico and their individual stories are largely unknown.

Gail K Beil  
Marshall, Texas

*Love Cemetery: Unburying the Secret History of Slaves*, China Galland (HarperCollins Publishers, 10 East 53<sup>rd</sup> St., New York, NY 10022) 2007. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Notes. Biblio. Resources. Credits. P. 275. \$24.95. Hardcover.

Love Cemetery, a cemetery near Marshall, Texas, for forty years was unused, unkempt, and closed to the citizens, mostly black, who wished to enter. Interred in the cemetery were black slaves and the descendants of slaves. *Love Cemetery: Unburying the Secret History of Slaves*, depicts the personal journey of its white author, China Galland, as she and a small group of black and white acquaintances and friends sought to open, reclaim, and re-consecrate the cemetery. For the author the effort was partially a labor of expiation, as Galland earlier had discovered instances of mistreatment of African Americans while researching her own family history in 1993.

Historians will have mixed reactions to the book. It is a lively written story, an interesting account, and a personal discussion well worth reading. It also is filled with historical vignettes from the middle passage of the slave trade, slavery in Texas (Galland refers to Randolph B. Campbell's *An Empire for Slavery*), the late nineteenth century, the civil rights movement, and the present. For the historian, chapter four, "Borderlands, Badlands, and the Neutral Ground," is the most historically complete chapter in the book. On the other hand the book is not intended to be a history, as the author writes, "certain names of people and places in this book have been changed" (p. 7).

Since Love Cemetery is located near Marshall, Texas. Galland also mentions Wiley College, a black college in Marshall, prominent black Marshallites Melvin B. Tolson and James Farmer, and recent ETHA stalwarts, Gail and Greg Beil, in her book.

This account of the opening of Love Cemetery takes place during the years from 2003 to 2006, and ultimately, despite set backs and difficult work, Love Cemetery was cleaned up, re-consecrated, and opened for visitors. However, in its many manifestations, China Galland reminds us, "the work of Love was ongoing" (p. 230).

Bruce A. Glasrud  
Seguin, Texas

*The Settlers of Lovely County and Miller County Arkansas Territory, 1820–1830*, Melinda Blanchard Crawford and Don L. Crawford, compilers (Picton Press, P.O. Box 1347, Rockland, ME 04841-1347) 2002. Contents. Appendices. Index. P. 301. \$36.50. +S/H-\$5.00. Hardcover.

The reviewer approached this publication with high hopes that some of our Northeast Texas history would be found as part of Miller County, Arkansas. After all Jonesboro, a community in the original Red River County, Texas, had been the county seat for Miller County, Arkansas, and the Sheriff from Little Rock, Arkansas, tried unsuccessfully to collect taxes in Red River County. In fact, little in this publication is applicable and probably none could be recognized as Texas history without a good foundation of knowledge.

Lovely County and Miller County were both located in the eastern portion of what is now the State of Oklahoma and were ground zero for the forced relocation of the Choctaw and Cherokee tribes.

"Miller County" was reformed several times in the nineteenth century by the Arkansas Territorial legislature in different and confusing locations in what are now the states of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The current "Miller County" is the southwestern-most county in Arkansas in which the eastern part of Texarkana is located.

Early in the nineteenth century everything south of the Red River belonged to Spain and thereafter to Mexico by virtue of The Louisiana

Purchase and the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 that set the Red River as the boundary. This remained true until shortly after Texas Independence in 1836, when Arkansas relinquished its claim in Northeast Texas.

Americans were resettled from the Lovely and Miller county areas and received certificates for resettlement after a problematic period in the Miller County area. Each settler had to file a "deposition" with the United States Claims Office to obtain a resettlement certificate. These depositions contain valuable information about each of the filers and there are two or three names in this publication that are recognized as pioneer settlers who moved south across the Red River.

Another chapter extracts information from the files of *The Arkansas Gazette*, a valuable research source for historians but, again, there are but vague references to our Texas history.

This is an excellent resource book for information on the history of the eastern portion of the present State of Oklahoma, the Trail of Tears, and the Americans who were relocated.

Jim D. Lovett  
Clarksville, Texas

*Civil War Leadership and Mexican War Experience*, Kevin Dougherty (University Press of Mississippi, 3825 Ridgewood Rd, Jackson, MS 39211-6492) 2007. Contents. Illus. Appendices. Index. P. 207. \$50. Hardcover.

The Mexican War was the proving ground for many young men who later used their experiences as generals in the Civil War. Kevin Dougherty, a retired United States Army officer and lecturer at the University of Southern Mississippi, explores the Mexican War experiences of twenty-six Civil War leaders, thirteen Union and thirteen Confederate, and examines the impact the earlier war had on their leadership abilities during the later conflict. The men examined are prominent figures in the Civil War such as Ulysses S. Grant, George B. McClellan, William T. Sherman, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson.

Dougherty divides his book into three parts. The first part examines the American concept of combat before the Mexican War and in the decade leading to the Civil War. This establishes a context to examine the lessons the men learned and what influenced them before both wars. In the following two parts, the author examines the experiences of Union and Confederate generals. Also included are some useful appendices that list all the Civil War generals who served in the Mexican War.

The book presents an interesting perspective on Civil War leadership. It is strictly military history and it could be argued that Dougherty wrote it for a military audience. At the same time, it compiles a collection of human experi-

ences and how they can be used to examine warfare. The book also provides a larger view of the Civil War because the individuals examined produced or represented the resistance to the major strategic and tactical changes that developed during the war. The book would be useful as a reference of leadership experiences and would be of interest to both scholars and enthusiasts of the Civil War.

Charles D. Gear  
Prairie View A&M University

*Texas Terror: The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860 and the Secession of the Lower South*, Donald E. Reynolds (Louisiana State University Press, P.O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053) 2007. Contents. Illus. Biblio. Index. P. 237. \$45. Hardcover.

In July 1860 tensions were high and so were temperatures in north Texas. Conflict with Mexicans and Indians was ongoing. Southern firebrands and Northern abolitionists agitated for radical alteration of the American union as the presidential election drew near. Many Texans needed little push to fall into hysteria. When Dallas and other north Texas communities inexplicably caught fire and anti-union editors spread rumors of burning and poisoning, Texans perceived an abolitionist-inspired slave rising. They reacted with vigilantism and lynching of black and white alike, and exiled strangers from the state on pain of death. The fever spread through the lower South, fueled by newspaper rumors and fictions.

Unionist and Northern papers countered the rumors, but anti-unionists rejected their "lies" and the Yankee-inspired theory that newfangled matches were combusting spontaneously due to the extreme heat.

The panic faded after local newspapers reported that cities supposedly burned to the ground were instead thriving unscathed. The cost in lives was greater than the rumored loss of property, but the greater cost was that the panic shifted Texas – and Southern - sentiment to disunion.

*Texas Terror* provides the first book-length treatment of this in the panic of 1860. It tightly documents the role of matches as cause of the fires. Reynolds also places Texas into a broader regional and national context and makes a compelling argument that the non-existent slave rising, not John Brown's raid, shifted Texas from union to secession. Solidly documented and crisply written, *Texas Terror* is a significant addition to the literature on the Civil War.

John H. Barnhill  
Houston, Texas

*Confederate Guerrilla: The Civil War Memoir of Joseph Bailey*, T. Lindsay Baker editor (The University of Arkansas Press, 201 Ozark, Fayetteville, AR 72701) 2007. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 148. \$29.95. Hardcover.

T. Lindsay Baker has edited and written many excellent historical accounts during his career as a professional historian and *Confederate Guerrilla* is no exception. Baker has done an extraordinary job of editing Joseph Bailey's memoir that tells the story of one Confederate soldier's experiences as a Guerrilla fighter in Arkansas during the latter part of the Civil War. The memoir focuses on various aspects of Bailey's life, including his early childhood, service in the Sixteenth Arkansas Infantry, and his experiences in the battles at Pea Ridge in Arkansas, Farmington, Iuka, and Corinth in Mississippi, and at the siege of Port Hudson in Louisiana. The bulk of the Bailey's account details his career as an insurgent in northwestern Arkansas between September 1863 and October 1864, when Bailey and other guerrillas harassed and hindered the operations of Union troops stationed in the state. The irregulars' tactics were relatively simple. They conducted hit-and-run strikes against Union soldiers, then retreated to the safety of Arkansas's rugged terrain. When in the northern part of the state, the guerrillas operated in the rugged mountains, and when in the south, they hid in swamps. Though the guerrillas never won major battles, but they were successful in tying up substantial numbers of Union troops who could have served on other fronts.

Civil War scholars will find Bailey's memoir valuable, because it is one of the few first-hand accounts of guerrilla activities during the war. Most irregular troops refused to write an account of their wartime experiences because they feared that their brutal actions during the war would lead to retribution. T. Lindsey Baker is to be commended for his editing of the original typescript. The memoir is easy to read and to follow. Baker also deserves praise for documenting the events mentioned in Bailey's account with over fifty pages of comprehensive notes.

Kenneth W. Howell  
Prairie View A&M University

*Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas*, Jerry Thompson (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 332. \$32.50. Hardcover.

This book chronicles the life of Juan Nepomucino Cortina, the border *caudillo* who influenced South Texas politics from the 1840s into the 1870s. After fighting against American forces during the Mexican War, Cortina could not reconcile himself to a peace which brought much of his family's land into the United States and he despised the Brownsville, Texas, legal community, which he believed was stealing land from Mexican Texans. In July 1859



Cortina killed Brownsville city sheriff Robert Shears after witnessing the brutal arrest of a fellow Hispanic. In September 1859 Cortina, with seventy men, seized Brownsville and killed five men, but many of his intended victims fled or went into hiding. This first Cortina War ended in February 1860, when Texas Rangers entered Mexico and defeated Cortina's forces.

Cooperating with the North during the American Civil War, Cortina invaded South Texas, initiating the second Cortina War, but was defeated by Confederate forces. In May 1862, he joined Juarez's Liberals opposing the French but then briefly cooperated with the imperialists. After rejoining the Liberals Cortina was in Queretaro when Maximilian was executed. In 1863, Cortina proclaimed himself governor of Tamaulipas and became a general of the Mexican army. Cortina returned to border affairs in 1871, resuming his theft of Texas livestock. In 1872, a U.S. federal grand jury indicted Cortina, and a congressional investigatory committee blamed Cortina and other Mexican officials with "wanton disregard" for the rights of South Texas citizens. A special commission of the Mexican government arrived at significantly different conclusions, but American diplomatic pressure eventually forced the Mexican government to arrest Cortina in July 1875 and exile him to Mexico City, where he died in October 1894. Jerry Thompson's sympathetic but balanced biography is a "must read" for all students of Texas history and Anglo-Hispanic relations.

John D. Huddleston  
Schreiner University

*Petra's Legacy: The South Texas Ranching Empire of Petra Vela and Mifflin Kenedy*, Jane Clements Monday and Frances Brannen Vick (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 430. \$35. Hardcover.

This is a big but easy to read book about the matriarch of one of the most prominent Texas families of the nineteenth century, embracing the life of Petra Vela Kenedy from her birth in Mier, Mexico, on January 31, 1823, to her death in Corpus Christi, Texas, on March 16, 1885. She lived through some of the most turbulent of times along the lower borderlands.

*Petra's Legacy* is both a biography of this remarkable woman and a history of events on both sides of the border, including the vast lands between the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers known as the Wild Horse Desert. Kenedy's life spanned periods of social and political unrest, economic development from Brownsville to Corpus Christi, and the founding of the great ranching empires of southern Texas.

The authors use previously unpublished letters, journals, photos, and other resource materials to tell her story from the time of Petra's birth into a pioneer frontier family of northern Mexico through the years when she bore

eight children with a Mexican army officer, Luis Vidal, and her many years afterwards and six children with Mifflin Kenedy, whom she married on May 10, 1854.

As were many women throughout Texas at the time, Petra Vela Kenedy was a strong woman and a tremendous asset to her entrepreneurial husband. While Mifflin Kenedy was busy being one of the movers and shakers of South Texas, Petra kept the home fires burning as he built an empire in business and ranching. Through times of revolution, border and bandit wars, the American Civil War, disease, drought, and economic turmoil, they survived to become one of the wealthiest families in Texas.

The marriage of Petra to Mifflin Kenedy, a Pennsylvania-born Quaker, represented a rather remarkable blending of cultures. She would remain devoted to her Catholic faith, brought her children up in the church, was a good mother and wonderful wife, and became one of the great philanthropists of South Texas.

Not only is this an engaging, informative book, the authors provide forty-five pages of end notes that will serve as a treasure of resource material for scholars of the borderlands for years to come, plus an eleven-page bibliography for what is an engaging saga of Petra Vela Kenedy's life from the first to the last chapter.

Henry Wolff, Jr.  
Victoria, Texas

*Buffalo Soldiers in the West: A Black Soldiers Anthology*, Bruce A. Glasrud and Michael N. Searles, editors (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Contributors. Biblio. Index. P. 319. \$19.95. Paperback. \$40. Hardcover.

In the years following the Civil War, the U.S. Army stationed African American soldiers on the western frontier. These troops, known as "buffalo soldiers," served in the Tenth and Ninth Cavalry and in Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. They established an impressive record, and their story remains one of the most fascinating chapters in American military history. Bruce Glasrud and Michael Searles' *Buffalo Soldiers in the West* brings together seventeen scholarly articles that focus on the buffalo soldiers and their exploits in the American West. The editors successfully capture the essence of what it meant to be a buffalo soldier and explain in riveting detail the hardships they endured as well as their accomplishments. Though previously published in scholarly journals, the articles included in the *Buffalo Soldiers* serve as a rich and assessable resource for students, scholars, and the general reader.

Glasrud and Searles divided their anthology into four different parts, including sections on the officers and troops, the black soldiers, discrimination and violence, and community of soldiers. Each part includes four chapters that

examine the lives and accomplishments of the soldiers both individually and collectively; the lives that they lived as black troops in white, red, and brown regions of the West; their relationship with white officers; the discrimination that they faced in white communities; and their experiences within the military. Some of the most interesting chapters examine the careers of black commissioned and noncommissioned officers serving in the West: the trial and court martial of Lt. Henry O. Flipper; the story of Cathay Williams, the only documented woman to serve with the African American troops; the discrimination and violence black soldiers faced in Rio Grande City, near Brownsville, in 1899; and the attempt to mechanize the Twenty-fifth Infantry by creating a bicycle corps. The anthology also includes an excellent literature review and an extensive bibliography.

Glasrud and Searles' *Buffalo Soldiers* is ideal for the classroom, especially in courses dealing with the history of the American West, African Americans, and the U.S. military. Aside from students, scholars and general readers will appreciate the editors' efforts to bring together a diverse group of articles that provide meaningful insights into the social, cultural, and communal lives of black troops serving in the U.S. Army.

Kenneth W. Howell  
Prairie View A&M University

*Polygamy on the Pedernales: Lyman Wight's Mormon Villages in Antebellum Texas, 1845 to 1858*, Melvin C. Johnson (Utah State University Press, 7800 Old Main Hill, Logan, UT 84322-7800) 2006. Contents. Illus. Tables. Biblio. Map. Index. P. 231. \$21.95. Paperback.

Exhaustively researched and clearly written, this is an outstanding contribution to religious scholarship. Through this family study of Lyman Wight and his small band of followers, never more than 175, Melvin Johnson tells the fascinating story of Mormons in central Texas during the mid-nineteenth century. Enhancing the work are ample footnotes, a thorough bibliography, numerous tables, photographs, and an adequate index.

Wight was born in Connecticut in 1796, moved with his wife to Ohio in 1826, joined the communitarian movement of Sydney Rigdon in 1829, and shortly thereafter converted to Mormonism. Charismatic and aggressive, he quickly became one of the more trusted confidants of Joseph Smith, Jr. Violence toward the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois prompted Smith to look beyond the United States for a new "gathering place," and in the spring of 1844 he sent an emissary to confer with President Sam Houston about a Mormon settlement in the Texas Republic. The Prophet's subsequent murder in June 1844 engulfed the Mormons in friction and confusion. Was leadership to come from Smith's immediate bloodline and thus devolve upon the eleven-year old Joseph III, or from a select group of trusted apostles, The Twelve? And should the Mormons proceed to Texas, or some place father west? Wight

and Brigham Young disagreed on both issues. Wight rejected Young's claim to apostolic succession, and Young objected to Wight's plans for Texas. So Wight's group broke from the Utah Mormons and settled in Texas.

Having heard of the violence in Missouri and Illinois, Texans were wary of the newcomers who held themselves aloof, practiced communitarianism, and had plural wives. The Wightites, however, generally earned the respect of their predominantly German neighbors. They were industrious and peaceful. As grist millers and wood craftsmen, they provided useful services. And they served as a buffer to the Comanches, with whom they maintained tranquil relations. Increasingly addicted to alcohol and opium, Wight died in 1858 enroute back to Missouri, and the last leader of his original colony died in Bandera City in 1913.

Although a bit repetitious, anyone interested in religious history will find this a useful study. Especially notable is the discussion of polygamy.

John W. Storey  
Lamar University

*Bound in Twine: The History and Ecology of the Henequen-Wheat Complex for Mexico and the American and Canadian Plains, 1880-1950*, Sterling Evans (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Tables. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 314. \$42. Hardcover.

By the late nineteenth century, the American Great Plains had begun a transformation from mere prairie land to a vast wheat growing machine that produced most of the grain consumed in the United States and Canada. As farmers began to employ mechanical threshers to create their bundles of wheat, a need arose for an adequate binding for these sheaves. Although United States and Canadian farmers initially tried hemp and other materials, they ultimately discovered that only henequen fiber from agave plants grown predominantly on the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico could satisfy their need for strong, durable twine to bind their wheat.

*Bound in Twine* is a transnational story of the United States, Mexico, and Canada, bound together by henequen-made twine that supplied the binding for American and Canadian wheat farmers. This is the industry author Sterling Evans refers to as the Henequen-Wheat Complex that encompassed the Yucatan Peninsula, the Great Plains of the United States and Canada, and Sonora, Mexico, where many members of the Yaqui Indian Tribe were enslaved and taken south to work the agave fields of the Yucatan.

The author also demonstrates the importance of henequen fiber to the economies of the United States, Canada, and Mexico, so much so that in 1915 President Woodrow Wilson, concerned about political instability in Mexico, used gunboat diplomacy to ensure the ongoing availability of henequen fiber

to American wheat farmers.

Combining environmental, economic, political, and social history in this broad work, Evans demonstrates the big picture of history as few studies have done before, by linking the economic, and in some cases political, fortunes of three nations through something as innocuous as twine for binding sheaves of wheat.

*Bound in Twine* is a must-read for anyone interested in the environmental and economic histories of the United States, Canada, and Mexico, and should serve as a model for future transnational studies of this kind.

John R. Lundberg  
Cameron University

*American Windmills: An Album of Historic Photographs*, T. Lindsey Baker  
(University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr., Norman, OK 73069)  
2007. Contents. B&W Photos. Index. P. 156. \$34.95. Hardcover.

Most of the icons of the American West – the cowboy branding cattle, the plains farmers in front of their sod houses, the railroad tracks stretching endlessly through the plains, and the views of small towns scattered throughout the West – are frozen in time as sepia-toned photographs. Often seen in these photographs, but generally overlooked as part of the background, are windmills. T. Lindsey Baker attempts to correct this oversight in this volume.

Over 200 photographs of windmills in use, windmills being produced, and people working near them are found here. These images will be of interest to those who remember windmills from their youth, rural America, and family history.

The problem with all these photographs is that they are similar in nature. Some photographs pique the interest of the viewer, including images of a San Angelo girl in a dress designed to look like the vanes of a windmill and wearing a hat which had a miniature windmill as its major part, a view of San Diego in the 1880s showing young ladies atop a windmill, the destructive force of storm winds on the mills, and a modern, power-producing windmill.

The book is effective in its presentation of the photographs. They are grouped by subject and chapter. The photographs used with the chapters on production, assembly, and sale effectively support the information presented in these chapters.

The narrative of the book is its strongest part because it is clear, concise, and informative. Each chapter is fairly short, and the narrative follows a chronological order, not only in the history of the windmill, but also in the production, sale, and assembly of various types of windmills. The narrative describes accurately the impact of windmills on the settling of the West.

The book is strongly recommended for those with an interest in the histo-

ry of the West, technology, and society. The volume is a good overview of the effect of technology on society and the West.

Michael R. Bryant  
Garland, Texas

*Reaping a Greater Harvest: African Americans, The Extension Service and Rural Reform in Jim Crow Texas*, Debra A. Reid (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Acknowledgments. Notes. Bibliographic Essay. Sources. Index. P. 295. \$39.95. Hardcover.

When the boll weevil came north from Mexico to challenge the agricultural stability of the South, none fought a harder battle for existence than rural African Americans. In Texas, where Jim Crow held a firm grip early in the twentieth century, discrimination and poverty went hand in hand. In *Reaping a Greater Harvest*, Debra A. Reid offers an outstanding history of the Texas Agricultural Extension Service's Negro Division in East Texas. Her extensive research into the efforts of agents and demonstrators dramatizes the affect on the farming families as they strove to improve their lives, combating the hurdles imposed by white farmers and politicians.

A compelling contribution, written with far more verve than histories usually manage, the book chronicles how agents encouraged despondent farmers to diversify their crops and improve agricultural marketing skills. Reid describes the ways in which agents strengthened their efforts by establishing councils in all the communities, encouraging change where despondency was all too evident. Programs like "A pig in every home" and, better yet, "Get a cow," wielded financial benefit and improved family health.

Alongside the male agents, women demonstrators are credited with teaching women and girls about everything pertaining to the farm from health and sanitation practices to poultry raising and sewing. The focus was always on cooperation in such innovations as the community canning centers.

The book covers the period from 1914, when the division was established, until the late 1960s, addressing political negotiations, the help provided by church and school leaders, and the limited benefits for African Americans from the New Deal. In presenting the big picture, Reid never loses sight of the communities and families, illustrating her words with poignant photographs. Maps and tables round out a provocative, intriguing account of Texas in its less than glorious days.

Jane Manaster  
Austin, Texas

*By Early Candlelight: The Story of Old Milam*, Archie P. McDonald (Milam Lodge No 2 A.F. & A.M., 129 N Fredonia, Nacogdoches, TX 75961) 1967. Second Printing 2007. Contents. Illus. Appendices. Index. P. 272. \$20.00. Hardcover.

As an amateur historian, my arrival in Nacogdoches a little over three years ago was like a sweet-toothed child falling into a candy shop. One of my first social meetings was with Dr. Archie McDonald, and our conversations sparked in me an intense interest in the history of the development of the Republic of Texas. From these stories, I learned that, just as they did in the development of the United States, Freemasons played important roles in the freedom efforts of early Texans.

Out of print for forty years, Archie McDonald's *By Early Candlelight: The Story of Old Milam* gives the reader an excellent opportunity to explore the activities of the most ancient of fraternal organizations. There are no *Du Vinci Code* mysteries here, no intrigue, or misrepresentations of truths. Readers are given facts that were literally taken from the minute books of Milam Lodge, one of the founding lodges of what is today the Grand Lodge of Texas.

For the non-Mason, this book will provide an insightful look into what Freemasons are really about, how these early members contributed to the formation of Texas as a free republic, and a hint of what attracts men to the organization. Through simple factual information, readers will gain an understanding of the many ways in which the Freemasons helped to shape our modern Texas. Many readers will appreciate the pictures included with the text. Most readers will recognize a large number of the early members as heroes and key players in winning Texans their freedom from Mexico.

For the Masonic reader, there is a treasure trove of information about the workings of a frontier lodge newly given the opportunity to operate and meet unrestricted by the bonds of an oppressive government. Many will appreciate their fraternal connection with men dedicated to bringing freedom of life, religion, and education to the new republic that they had fought to establish.

For many readers, this will be an opportunity for them to understand the community role of men who played such a vital role in establishing Texas as a sovereign nation, then moving it towards statehood.

George R. Franks, Jr.  
Stephen F. Austin State University

*Deep Time and the Texas High Plains: History and Geology*, Paul H. Carlson (Texas Tech University Press, P.O. Box 41037, Lubbock, TX 79409-1037) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 141. \$19.95. Paperback.

“Deep Time” is a term that is hard to explain and even harder to comprehend. Most of us non-earth-science mortals can comprehend time back to discernible cultures in Egypt and Mesopotamia, vaguely in India and the Far East. Those of us who got involved with American Indian history began thinking in terms of twenty thousand years ago, around which time Asians migrated into the Americas across the Bering Bridge. We hazily considered Neanderthals, living a million years ago, and australopithecines at four million. But a realistic feeling for time became too deep to discern or consider, almost like “infinity.” That is what Paul Carlson means by “deep time.”

Carlson’s book is about deep time on the Llano Estacado. His story is the story of the geologic building of the high plains of west Texas and the history of the animal, vegetable, and mineral lives that lived on it.

Explaining geological and biological history as it evolves through deep time boggles the mind, but Carlson, fortunately for the reader, is a historian rather than an earth scientist. He leads us cleanly and clearly from the Big Bang down to the time when the Llano was built from the soils washing down from the east side of the Rocky Mountains.

Carlson describes the comings and goings of the giant mammals who roamed the plains and the Paleo Indians who came across the Bering Strait to kill them and eat them. And the Clovis and Folsom, the mammoth and bison hunters. He brings us down shallow time with the coming of the Apaches and then the dominance of the Comanche. And reaches textbook history with the coming of the Anglos – the buffalo hunters and ranchers and fence builders.

Nowadays the geologists and the archaeologists of the Llano Estacado are deep in their digs, particularly in the Lubbock area, tracing the history of the high plains earth and its inhabitants. Carlson is using their findings to write *Deep Time* and to explain to the laymen this history which goes far back to deep time beyond our general knowledge.

*Deep Time and the Texas High Plains* is a good read, and it is rich in content which is understandable to the casual semi-scientist. It is also much more than High Plains geology and history. The story of the Llano Estacado – that is, until you get to the Apaches and the Anglo buffalo hunters – is the story of earth building and plant and animal evolution as it happened throughout our planet. *Deep Time* is an education, so if you want to know what you missed by not taking geology and anthropology, read Carlson’s *Deep Time*.

F. E. Abernethy  
Professor Emeritus of English



*Historic Hotels of Texas: A Traveler's Guide*, Liz Carmack (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Color Illus. Maps. Index. P. 253. \$23. Flexbound.

Heritage tourists and architectural history enthusiasts will appreciate the new travel guide to historic hotels in Texas. It builds on successes of earlier, similar works, including *Historic Texas Hotels and Country Inns* by Linda Johnson and Sally Ross (Eakin Press, 1982) and *A Guide to Historic Texas Inns and Hotels* by Ann Ruff (Lone Star Books, 1982), but provides important updated information and new perspectives. In making her selections for the guide, author Liz Carmack utilized three criteria – the buildings are at least fifty years old, historically operated as a hotel, and still in service to travelers.

Carmack provides basic tourist information, including brief histories, on sixty-four hotels, grouping them thematically and geographically. As context, she includes a brief overview of the Texas hotel industry, as well as sections on noteworthy hotels that are now closed and historic hotels currently preserved for other uses. The core of the guide, though, remains the current information and colorful photographs on active hotels. Among those in the East Texas region are the Hotel Galvez and Tremont House in Galveston, the Excelsior Hotel in Jefferson, the LaSalle Hotel in Bryan and the Woodbine Hotel in Madisonville. Of particular note to friends of the East Texas Historical Association is the Fredonia Hotel (1953), initially funded through public shares as an economic catalyst for Nacogdoches. Aptly described as the city's "living room" (p. 146), the Fredonia has long served as headquarters for ETHA.

The guide is concise, colorful, and well organized. Novice and experienced heritage tourists alike will find it helpful in their travel pursuits throughout the state.

Dan K. Utley  
Pflugerville, Texas

*The Land, The Law, and The Lord: The Life of Pat Neff*, Dorothy Blodgett, Terrell Blodgett, David L. Scott (Home Placc Publishers, P.O. Box 13062, Austin, TX 78711-3062) 2007. Contents. B&W Photos. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 383. \$24.95 Hardcover.

Pat Morris Neff is not one of the Texas governors that many people remember, and if they do, they do not remember him fondly. Some consider him a self-righteous prohibitionist with a difficult personality. Others criticize his weak stance against, if not quiet acquiescence to, the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. The Blodgett and Scott biography of Pat Neff will not spark a reassessment of Neff's place in Texas history, but it certainly provides readers a much broader assessment of his life and times, as well as his private side.

Neff served as legislator, speaker of the house, governor, county attorney, railroad commissioner, and president of Baylor University. The book's title reflects three motivating factors that remained constant throughout Neff's career and life, but the authors go beyond an assessment of Neff's public career and provide readers tremendous insight into Neff's family life. He was close to his doting mother, a relationship that combined with his consuming interest in political office to take a toll on his interaction with his wife and children. Despite his various offices, Neff was probably most at home as McLennan county attorney.

Neff was an excellent old-school orator, and held high expectations of himself and those around him. In the end, however, he may have been an anachronism. His legalistic personality often interfered with his ability to work with legislators, colleagues, regents, and college students in other positions.

Even if Pat Neff does not emerge as an altogether sympathetic subject, readers will find that the authors have produced a well written and engaging study that is difficult to put down. Students of Texas history will certainly appreciate the way the authors have woven the rich detail of the state's history into the biography of this complex and misunderstood statesman.

Gene B. Preuss  
University of Houston-Downtown

*Historic Battleship Texas: The Last Dreadnought*, John C. Ferguson (State House Press, Box 637, McMurry University, Abilene, TX 79697) 2007. Contents. Illus. Appendices. Notes. Maps. Index. P. 192. \$16.95 Paperback.

Alfred Thayer Mahan argued that to be a great nation, a country must have a modern navy. Mahan's theory had no stronger proponent than Theodore Roosevelt. During his presidency, the United States created its first truly world-class navy, with the heavily-armored battleship forming its backbone. For the next half century, the "battleship paradigm" dominated naval thinking.

Battleship Number 35, commissioned on March 12, 1914, as the U.S.S. *Texas*, represented the pinnacle of naval technology. The ship's early years proved undistinguished. She missed action at Vera Cruz in 1914 and saw little conflict aside from firing on two submarine periscope sightings during World War I. By 1942, the *Texas* represented "old technology" as American shipyards turned out newer and faster battleships. Even so, World War II gave *Texas* the opportunity for combat, and she provided long-range artillery support for landings in North Africa, on Omaha Beach at Normandy, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa.

Enthusiasts of naval architecture will find *Historic Battleship Texas* replete with engineering data. Although the general reader may think some of the technical information daunting, the stories and anecdotes of officers and

crewmen bring a human aspect to the work and provide a glimpse of life aboard a vessel of war early in the twentieth century. The author's brief final chapter explains how Texans came together to save the *Texas* from destruction, so that it now rests peacefully as a memorial to those who served their nation.

Cycles of technology have dominated naval warfare throughout history. Ferguson's book tells the story of the U.S.S. *Texas* from conception to decommissioning, weaving the ship's history into the larger context of the first half of the twentieth century. Beyond a military history, this work also suggests the rapidity of conflict-driven technological change in the "Century of Warfare."

J. Edward Townes  
Center for Texas Studies at  
Texas Christian University

*Kindler of Souls: Rabbi Henry Cohen of Texas*, Rabbi Henry Cohen II (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) Contents. Appendix. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 153. \$24.95. Hardcover.

*Kindler of Souls* is one of a continuing series of books based on papers in the Center for American History at the University of Texas, Austin, and edited by its director, Don Carleton. Rabbi Henry Cohen, born in England in 1863, was educated in Jewish schools and was a part of a community of Shehardim Jews originally from Spain, Holland, and Italy, and who considered themselves elite. Jews from central and eastern Europe, known as Ashkenazim, part of a largely unwanted influx of immigrants including Irish and Chinese, arrived in New York at the turn of the Twentieth Century. They were to have a great impact on the work of Cohen; a rabbi, poet, and community activist.

Cohen arrived in Galveston in 1885 and joined the newly established Jewish Reform movement, which eased some of the restrictions of Orthodoxy. In the devastating Galveston flood, he served as a member of the Central Relief Committee. In that role he ministered to people of all races and religions. By 1903, horrific pogroms primarily in Russia led to a large influx of Jewish refugees packed into tenements in the Bronx. A wealthy Jewish merchant, Jacob M. Schiff, fearing a rise of Anti-Semitism and concerned about the poverty he observed, devised a program of dispersion of the refugees into the interior of the country. Cohen, who headed "The Galveston Movement," became an important cog in the machinery.

Cohen was appointed chairman of the Texas Prison Board by Governor Dan Moody and in that position received statewide recognition. He also battled the influence of the Ku Klux Klan. Additionally he was named one of the nation's ten best religious leaders by Rabbi Stephen Wise, president of the Jewish Institute of America. The author's thesis is that he wants this generation to recognize the contributions of this almost forgotten Texas hero.

Unfortunately, this book will not do that. In my opinion it is mistitled. It should have been called "Recollections of my Grandfather, Rabbi Henry Cohen." In that context it becomes a charming account of the author's memories of his beloved grandfather. At times it is tedious because the author tells several versions of the same story, perhaps because oral history can vary in the details. But the practice provides the reader with more than he needs to know.

Gail K Beil  
Marshall, Texas

*Claytie: The Roller-Coaster Life of a Texas Wildcatter*, Mike Cochran (Texas A&M University Press, 4354, TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Acknowledgments. Index. P. 435. \$24.95. Hardcover.

Journalist Mike Cochran serves up a slice of twentieth-century Texan culture and history in this biography of Claytie Williams. The work covers all aspects of this wildcatter's story: his West Texas childhood; ties to Texas A&M; Williams' personal life (foibles and all); roller-coaster business career; and venture into state politics. Cochran's research is drawn from local and state newspapers and magazines, plus hundreds of hours of interviews. The net result is stimulating saga that utilizes one tumultuous life to shed light upon some of the political and social changes that reshaped our state over the past seven decades.

While the work covers much ground, this reviewer found two areas particularly interesting – the run for the governorship and Williams' lifelong relation with Mexican Americans. Regarding the campaign in 1990, Cochran addresses Claytie's notorious "rape" statement/joke and his refusal to shake hands with Ann Richards. The author permits Williams an opportunity to elucidate upon these two *faux pas* in a way he was unable to on the campaign trail. Further, the totality of Williams' life history (particularly his pattern of putting women in positions of power in his corporations), helps mitigate the accusations against him. Lastly, Williams' ties to Mexican Americans, especially his willingness to stand against an attempt to keep out a deserving individual from the Fort Stockton Jaycees in 1962, among other incidents, offer important nuances on ethnic relations in West Texas during the 1960s.

In sum, this work is an effective treatment of Williams' life and captures many portions of his riotous history. Readers will come away not only with a sense of one man's tenacious and raucous struggle to achieve success but also with a clearer perspective of the history of a state which has spawned more than its fair share of colorful men and women.

Jorge Iber  
Texas Tech University

*Wildcatters: Texas Independent Oilmen*, Roger M. Olien and Diana Davids Hinton (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Notes. Glossary. Biblio. Index. P. 234. \$18.95. Paperback.

*Wildcatters: Texas Independent Oilmen* was published in 1984 by Texas Monthly Press with a press run of 5,000. Those books were sold, the press went out of business, and *Wildcatters* disappeared from the market until Texas A&M University Press brought out this updated edition in 2007. The original edition and the edition in 2007 are important examinations of the persistence and importance of independent producers on the state, national, and international levels in the oil industry. In their first edition, Roger Olien and Diana Davids Hinton used the development of the Permian Basin oil fields of West Texas from the earliest oil discoveries in the 1920s through the boom of the 1970s, ending in the economic collapse of the industry in the mid to late 1980s, to discuss the role of the independents in relation to the majors. In the second edition they continued their focus on Permian Basin independents and brought the story to the rising oil prices of the contemporary market.

Olien and Hinton used a wide range of records, including oral interviews, business records when available, and state and federal sources as regulation grew in importance in the industry. In the 1920s the big problems were, first, finding the oil, and second, getting that oil to market. The independents were the discoverers of the fields, but discovery did not automatically mean wealth. Solutions were found to transportation issues, but over-production was a periodic problem, and larger producers wanted to stabilize the flow of oil and their businesses. Limiting production was anathema to the smaller independents, but the huge oil discoveries in East Texas in the 1930s made it necessary to bring order out of chaos for all. The process was painful, especially to the independents whose margin of profit was generally smaller than that of larger producers, but they adjusted or disappeared, and the authors told their stories well. The Depression was a story in itself.

World War II presented both opportunities and problems. New pipelines were necessary. Oil was an absolutely crucial war material; the work force was strained by the demands of the military; and prices were regulated by the government. The independents adjusted or disappeared, and after the boom of the postwar decade, the industry entered a period of transition that forced the independents again to adjust or die. Many diversified into the natural gas market. The late 1970s were a profitable time, followed by the collapse of oil prices in the 1980s.

In their introduction to the edition of 2007 the authors summarized the huge changes that have occurred in the last twenty-five years. The majors have moved more and more out of domestic exploration and production, selling off resources and functions. Independents have taken on more and more of the domestic operations, and many of the independents have grown considerably. They survived a number of years with low oil prices by cutting costs and labor forces to the bone. With rising prices early in the twenty-first century, they are

in a highly profitable stage. The majors are focusing on overseas fields and deep-sea drilling using new and highly productive techniques.

Take a look at the authors' summary of the operation of Mexco, a small company that came under the leadership of Nicholas C. Taylor, Midland attorney, in 1983. His first action was to cut all unnecessary frills. Secondly, he cut debt to a minimum, invested in acquiring royalties to service downturns, and reduced staff to two full-time employees and several part-time people. For a company whose stock is traded on the American Stock Exchange, two full time employees is a bit hard to believe, but Taylor's is a strategy that has worked well for his company.

Read this book for an understanding of the strategies that have kept the independents alive and generally well. The authors stated that the greatest concern is that federal action might create future problems, but these operators have demonstrated their resilience over the last ninety years.

Jo Ann Stiles  
Lamar University

*Spoke: A Biography of Tris Speaker*, Charles C. Alexander (Southern Methodist University Press, P.O. Box 750415, Dallas, TX 75275-0415) 2007. Contents. B&W Photos. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 361. \$25.95. Hardcover.

"Tris Speaker's name is no longer the household word it was when he was slashing line drives, running down balls hit to the far reaches of the outfield, and building the career that made him a charter electee to the National Baseball Hall of Fame," states Charles C. Alexander in the foreword of his most recent book. With *Spoke*, Alexander succeeds masterfully in reminding us that "Tris Speaker must be regarded as one of the greatest players ever to step onto a baseball field" (pp. xx-xxi).

Alexander, a native East Texan and Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Ohio University, is the author of twelve books, including six volumes of baseball history. He has produced acclaimed biographies of early baseball greats Ty Cobb, John McGraw, Rogers Hornsby, and now Tris Speaker. Speaker was born in Hubbard, Texas, and grew up playing baseball. A farm injury during boyhood forced him to become a southpaw, throwing and batting from the left side. By the time Speaker was eighteen he had progressed from semi-pro ball to the Texas League, where he helped the Cleburne Railroaders win a pennant. The next year, while still a teenager, he won the Texas League batting crown as a Houston Buffalo. Moving to Little Rock, in the Southern Association in 1908, he won his second consecutive minor league hitting title, then finished the season with the Boston Red Sox.

Speaker rapidly established himself as a big league star. From shallow center field he frequently robbed batters of base hits and threw out base run-

ners, and depended on his exceptional speed to chase down balls hit over his head. An unequalled ballhawk, when he turned prematurely gray he was dubbed the "Gray Eagle." Speaker was a terror at the plate, batting for both high average and power. During twenty-two big league seasons he hit .344, the fifth highest average in history. With 793 doubles, Speaker established a career total unlikely ever to be surpassed. The Gray Eagle also still holds several lifetime fielding records, including most assists and most double plays by an outfielder. Speaker was instrumental in leading the Red Sox to World Series triumphs in 1912 and 1915, and as player-manager for the World Champion Cleveland Indians in 1920. In 1951 Speaker was the first athlete voted into the Texas Sports Hall of Fame. Throughout his life the Texas country boy participated in far-ranging hunting and fishing expeditions, and in 1958 he suffered a fatal heart attack following a day of fishing at Lake Whitney, Texas.

Alexander excels at bringing back to life a bygone baseball era, and he extends special effort in period descriptions of the cities where his biographical subjects played and lived. *Spoke* is a model of meticulous research and artful writing.

Bill O'Neal  
Carthage, Texas

*Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness Through Racial Violence.* Cynthia Skove Nevels (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2007. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 189. \$24.95. Hardcover.

Dozens of books have been written about lynchings in Texas and across the South following the Civil War and well into the twentieth century. Cynthia Skove Nevels has provided a valuable addition to the literature by concentrating on five lynchings that occurred around the turn of the last century in Brazos County.

The fertile land of that area attracted a horde of European immigrants, especially from Ireland, Italy, and Eastern Europe, in the 1890s. Those immigrants were viewed with suspicion by native-born Anglos in the area, as well as emigrants from elsewhere in America who had long settled there. Whites had all but completed a two-decade process since Reconstruction of wresting all political power away from the sizable black population. Now this new influx of immigrants, with thick accents and slightly different skin color, threatened that balance of power.

The immigrants reacted, Nevels writes, by attempting to assimilate into the white culture quickly. One way they did that was by participating and even clamoring for lynchings of black men accused of crimes against them. And immigrant women willingly abetted these horrific events, sometimes by accusing black men of rape—a near-certain death sentence in the Jim Crow

era. Nevels surmises that some of these incidents could have been consensual sex, with rape accusations made later to preserve the woman's reputation.

*Lynching to Belong* is concisely written and meticulously researched. It sheds more light on a dark time in our history, when the rule of law far too often was superseded by mob rule.

Gary Borders  
Longview, Texas

*The Billy The Kid Reader*, Frederick Nolan (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr., Norman, OK 73069) 2007. Contents. Illus. Sources. Index. P. 384. \$29.95. Hardcover.

This is an edited collection of primary and secondary sources from a variety of papers, dime novels, journals, and histories which focus on the legend and history of the famed outlaw of the title. *The Billy the Kid Reader* includes reprints of articles from a half-dozen articles and short novels published late in the nineteenth century, as well as nearly twenty additional sources that trace the evolution of the myth in the twentieth century. There is little that is new in this volume and it succeeds only as a convenient store of information about this famous outlaw.

Nolan provides a brief preface which excludes most historical context. His short introductions to each of the twenty-six pieces in this work are similarly lacking and it appears that Nolan is a lazy editor. The most useful sections of this book are chapter seven, entitled "Billy (The Kid) Bonney," and chapter 23, "The Killing of Billy the Kid." The first of these evaluates the number of supposed murders he committed and the second provides further information on the death of Bonney from John W. Poe, who helped Pat Garret track Billy. This book is recommended only for those with a serious interest in this aspect of Western history. Readers with an interest in the life and times of Billy the Kid will want to see books by Robert Utley or Michael Wallis instead.

Jeff Bremer  
Stephen F. Austin State University

*Lone Star Lawmen: The Second Century of the Texas Rangers*, Robert M. Utley (Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016-4314) 2007. Contents. Notes. Sources. Index. Maps. Illus. P. 390. \$30. Paperback.

Internationally known and respected as a western historian, Robert Utley breaks new ground for himself and the Texas Rangers in *Lone Star Lawmen*.



Until the publication of this book, all histories of the Rangers ended in 1935 with the formation of the Department of Public Safety.

Utley's first book, *Lone Star Justice*, traces the history of the Rangers from their creation by Stephen F. Austin in 1823 until 1910. *Lone Star Lawmen* brings Ranger history forward through the successful conclusion of the standoff with the so-called Republic of Texas in the Davis Mountains in West Texas.

Throughout, Utley gives a fair and balanced history. He traces Ranger highlights such as former Ranger Frank Hamer's successful conclusion of the pursuit of Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow; their excellent work in the Texas oil fields and the boom towns spawned between 1920-1935; their successful investigation of the FBI and ATF after the Federal agencies' disastrous handling of the Branch Davidian fiasco; and ending with the standoff in the Davis Mountains. He also fairly traces lowlights in Ranger history during the 1910-1920 so-called Mexican Bandit War, and the Ferguson Rangers era during the reign of Governor Miriam "Ma" Ferguson.

Before 1935 and the DPS, the Rangers were basically at the political beck and call of the governor. Utley skillfully guides the reader through each administration until finally the Rangers were moved out of the political arena when they became a part of the Department of Public Safety.

Leading the reader through a tangled maze of the early years of the DPS, Utley provides a clear and concise telling of this important time in Ranger and Texas history. The early years of the DPS were hardly smooth sailing and if not for a director of the stature of Colonel Homer Garrison, the Texas Rangers could very well be only a historical memory.

Do not think this book is simply a dry history book—it is not. There are plenty of heroics, gunfights, and investigations by modern Rangers in the greatest tradition of Leander McNelly, John Jones, Jack Hays, John Hughes, and other standard bearers of nineteenth century Texas Ranger history.

This book is an absolute must for all Texas and Texas Ranger historians.

Robert Nieman  
Longview, Texas

## Texas: From Colonial Times to Modern Day

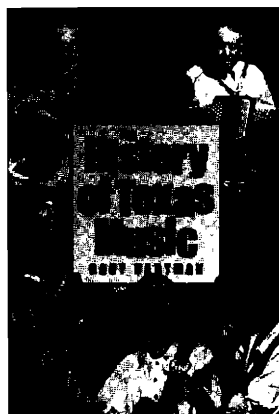
# TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY PRESS

### THE HISTORY OF TEXAS MUSIC

GARY HARTMAN

"The music of Texas is as broad, diverse, and culturally rich as the state itself. . . . Hartman helps us to understand both the beauties of these musical genres and the ways in which they have reflected and helped to define the unique Texas character."— Bill C. Malone, author of *Country Music, USA*

58 b&w photos. \$45.00 cloth; \$19.95 paper



### COLONIAL NATCHITOCHEs

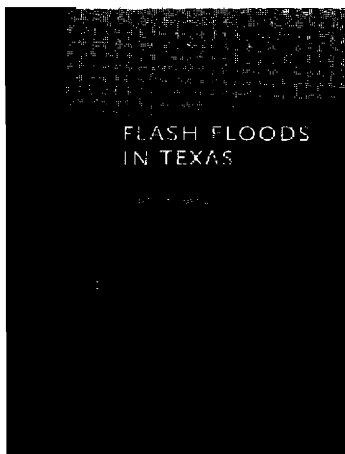
*A Creole Community on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*

H. SOPHIE BURTON AND F. TODD SMITH

Natchitoches was one of the most important communities on the Louisiana-Texas frontier during the colonial era.

*Colonial Natchitoches* presents surprising conclusions about the nature of society and commerce in this critical post.

\$39.95 cloth



### FLASH FLOODS IN TEXAS

JONATHAN BURNETT

FOREWORD BY ANDREW SANSOM

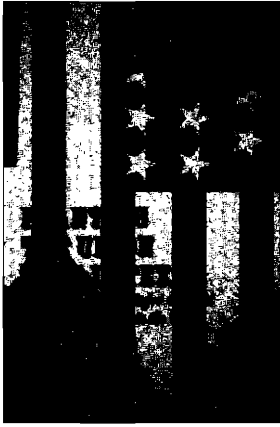
325 b&w photos. 24 maps. 40 tables.

\$35.00 hardcover

[www.tamu.edu/upress](http://www.tamu.edu/upress)

## Texas: From Colonial Times to Modern Day

# TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY PRESS



### PLANTING THE UNION FLAG IN TEXAS

*The Campaigns of Major General  
Nathaniel P. Banks in the West*

STEPHEN A. DUPREE  
\$40.00 cloth

### MRS. CORDIE'S SOLDIER SON

*A World War II Saga*

ROCKY R. MIRACLE  
\$24.95 cloth

### CEMETERIES OF AMBIVALENT DESIRE

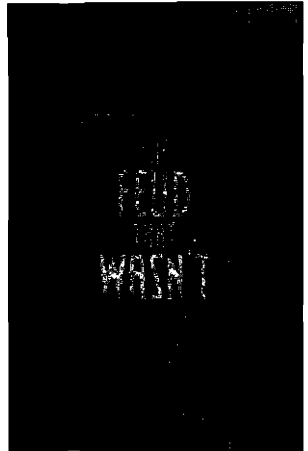
*Unearthing Deep South Narratives  
from a Texas Graveyard*

MARIE THERESA HERNÁNDEZ  
17 b&w photos. \$45.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper

### THE FEUD THAT WASN'T

*The Taylor Ring, Bill Sutton, John Wesley Hardin,  
and Violence in Texas*

JAMES M. SMALLWOOD  
\$29.95 cloth



[www.tamu.edu/upress](http://www.tamu.edu/upress)

## **INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS**

**A.C. McMillan African American Museum, Emory**  
**Angelina College, Lufkin**  
**BancorpSouth-Fredonia Bank, Nacogdoches**  
**Bob Bowman & Associates, Lufkin**  
**Camp Ford Historical Association, Tyler**  
**Cherokee County Historical Commission, Jacksonville**  
**Commercial Bank of Texas, N.A., Nacogdoches**  
**East Texas Baptist University, Marshall**  
**East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore**  
**Farmers Branch Historical Park, Farmers Branch**  
**First Bank & Trust East Texas, Diboll-Lufkin**  
**Harris County Flood Control District, Houston**  
**Harrison County Historical Commission, Marshall**  
**Jacksonville College, Jacksonville**  
**Rob Jones, CLU, CHFC, CFP**  
**Kilgore College, Kilgore**  
**Lamar University, Beaumont**  
**LeTourneau University, Longview**  
**Lon Morris College, Jacksonville**  
**The Long Trusts, Kilgore**  
**Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls**  
**Northeast Texas Community College, Mount Pleasant**  
**Peggy & Tom Wright, Nacogdoches**  
**Panola College, Carthage**  
**Red River Radio Network, Shreveport, Louisiana**  
**Regions-Stone Fort Bank, Nacogdoches**  
**Sam Houston Regional Library & Research Center, Liberty**  
**Sam Houston State University, Huntsville**  
**San Jacinto College North, Houston**  
**San Jacinto Museum of History, La Porte**  
**Southwest Dairy Museum, Sulphur Springs**  
**Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll**  
**Texas Forestry Association, Lufkin**  
**Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin**  
**Texas Historical Commission, Austin**  
**Trinity Valley Community College, Athens**  
**Tyler Junior College, Tyler**  
**Tyler Morning Telegraph, Tyler**  
**Vinson & Elkins, L.L.P., Houston**

**and sponsored by Stephen F. Austin State University**



HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION